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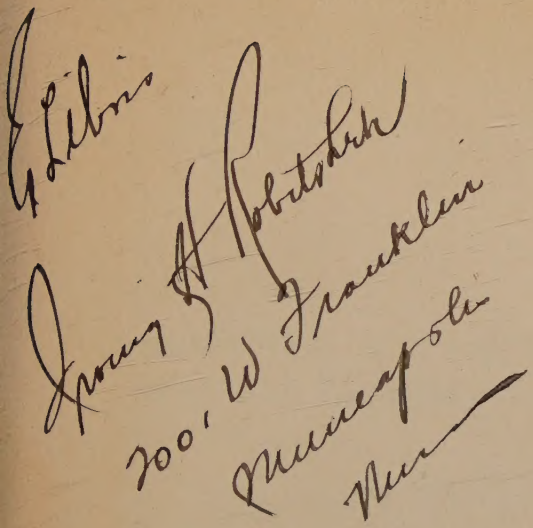
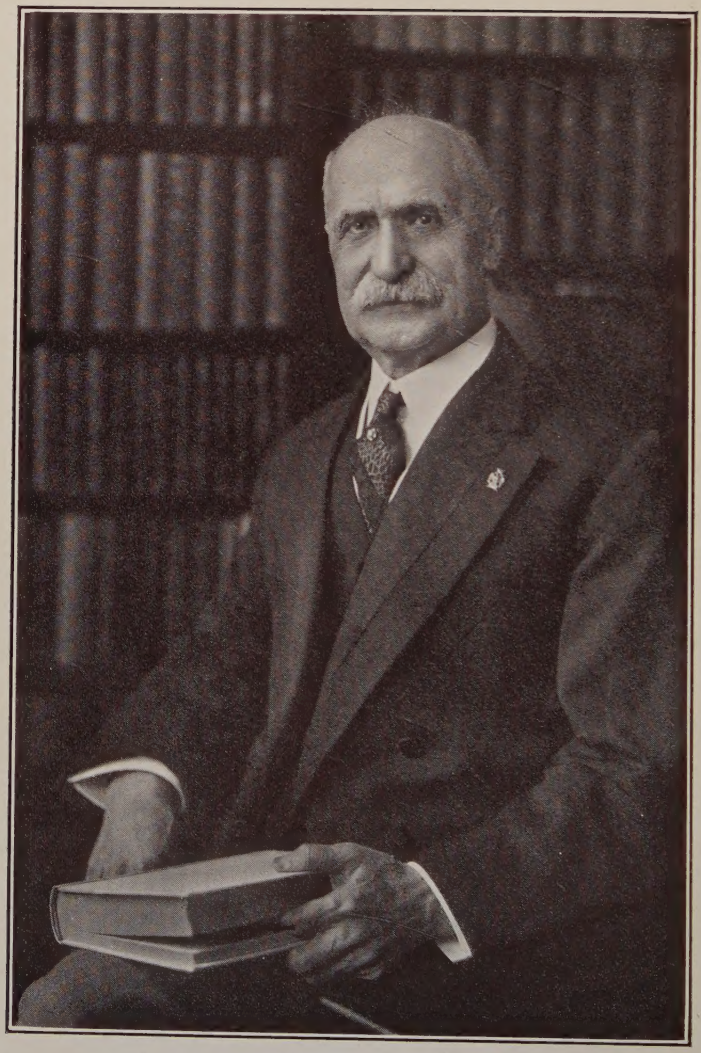


SELECTED ADDRESSES AND PAPERS OF SIMON WOLF



Simon Wolf

[AETAT. 80]

SELECTED ADDRESSES AND PAPERS OF SIMON WOLF

A MEMORIAL VOLUME, TOGETHER WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
FOREWORD	7
SIMON WOLF. A Necrology. By Max J. Kohler	12
IN MEMORIAM: SIMON WOLF. Minute adopted by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations	28
THE INFLUENCE OF THE JEWS ON THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD (1888)	30
THE AMERICAN JEW AS SOLDIER AND PATRIOT (1895)	77
THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF THE REV. ISAAC LEESER (1868)	97
MORDECAI MANUEL NOAH (1897)	108
CHURCH AND STATE (1893)	155
THE BIBLE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS (1905)	177
THE JEW AS A FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES (1906)	193
IN MEMORY OF SCHILLER (1905)	200
BENEFITS OF IMMIGRATION (1893)	203
TESTIMONY BEFORE THE U. S. INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION (1901)	215
PATRIOTISM AND RELIGION (1897)	240
DAY OF ATONEMENT ADDRESS (1893)	247
THE ORPHANED JEW AND THE JEWISH ORPHAN	260

PAGE

Are We Not All Brethren? (1911) . . . 270

The B'nai B'rith and the Philadelphia Statue of Liberty (1921) 277

Judaism—Patriotism—Fraternalism (1917) . 281

Address at Convention of U. A. H. C. (1919) . 284

Impromptu Talk at Banquet of Jubilee Convention of U. A. H. C. (1923) 288

Report as Chairman of Board of Delegates on Civil Rights (1922) 291

Appendix I. Memorandum on Hardships of the so-called Cable Equal Citizenship Bill . . 325

Appendix II. Racial Discriminations at Colleges versus the Law of the Land. By Max J. Kohler 329

Appendix III. History of the Board of Delegates on Civil Rights. By Max J. Kohler . . 334

FOREWORD

AT the Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, held in St. Louis in January, 1925, a minute on the death of Simon Wolf was adopted, which is reprinted herein, and the suggestion that a memorial volume, to contain selected addresses and papers prepared by him, should be published by the Union, was referred to the incoming Executive Board. The suggestion was approved by that Board, and the undersigned committee was appointed, which has selected the addresses and papers contained in this volume. It was Simon Wolf's boast that he attended every one of the biennial Conventions of the Union, from the time of its organization in 1873 until 1923, the year of his death fifty years later. He presided over two of these councils, and served as Chairman of its "Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights" for over thirty-three years, and was an active member of that Board even previously, from the time of its organization, as he had also been of its predecessor, the "Board of Delegates of American Israelites," which was organized in 1859, and was merged in the Union in 1878. The appropriateness of thus honoring his memory is obvious. This volume is introduced by a necrology prepared by Max J. Kohler for the "American Jewish Year Book" for 5685 (1924-1925), which is reprinted with the permission of the publisher of that annual, the Jewish Publication Society of America; Simon Wolf had himself designated Mr. Kohler as his literary executor.

During his long and beneficent career, Simon Wolf prepared literally thousands of published addresses and articles. He was a frequent contributor to the Jewish and daily press from the time he settled in Washington in June, 1862, until his death on June 4th, 1923. Many of his addresses, articles and reports appeared in pamphlet form, the first apparently having been an "Address delivered before the Washington Literary and Dramatic Association" on August 2d, 1863, probably the only extant copy of which is contained in the files of his papers and correspondence, presented, in conformity with his own wish, by his widow to the American Jewish Historical Society. Despite their merit, scarcely any of these addresses and articles are now available to the general reader, or even to the historical student, so ephemeral is newspaper and pamphlet publication. Under these conditions, the choice of papers to be included in such a memorial volume as this, is naturally arbitrary. It was his own wish that greater permanence should be given to his masterly lecture, "The Influence of the Jews on the Progress of the World," issued in pamphlet form in 1888, and the same certainly deserves the place of honor accorded to it herein. Only three of his works appeared in separate book form. Of these, even the most important one, his monumental work, "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen," published in 1905, is now out of print, but he himself prepared an able summary of it, which is reprinted herein from No. 3 of the "Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society" (1895), with his own caption "The American Jew as Soldier and Patriot." His work "The Presidents I Have Known, from 1860-1918,"

issued in the latter year, reprinted a considerable number of his papers; they are found conveniently listed in the table of contents of the second edition of that book. The work entitled "Jewish Disabilities in The Balkan States—American Contributions Toward their Removal, with Particular Reference to the Congress of Berlin" was prepared by him, in 1916, in conjunction with Max J. Kohler, for use at the Peace Conference, in aid of Jewish emancipation in Eastern Europe, and is still accessible, both as No. 24 of the "Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society" and in separate edition published by the American Jewish Committee. The Committee has naturally limited the sphere of inclusion to topics of specifically Jewish interest, except that a fine address delivered by him on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of Schiller's death, in 1905, has been included, not merely to illustrate Simon Wolf's love for the classics of his mother tongue, but because it stresses the role of that great poet as champion of liberty and democracy, he having done so much to usher in the modern era which brought about the emancipation of the Jew in Germany and elsewhere.

The earliest address included in the present collection is one delivered as far back as 1868, in memory of Rev. Isaac Leeser. A still earlier American Jew of distinction, Mordecai Manuel Noah, was well portrayed by him in a biographical essay next reprinted. It is of interest to note that he furnished material to Israel Zangwill for his account of a striking incident in that worthy's career published with the title "Noah's Ark" in "They That Walk in Darkness." Of still great present-day interest and service are his papers

"Church and State" of 1893, reprinting very important early congressional reports hard to locate, and a companion piece "The Bible in the Public School," of 1905. Among his many pleas for the immigrant and exposition of their value, we reprint "Benefits of Immigration," embracing his correspondence with Senator Chandler of 1893, his "Testimony before the U. S. Industrial Commission" of 1901 and his address of 1906 on "The Jew as a Factor in the Development of the United States."

It was his practice, for many years, to deliver an address at the Washington Synagogue on the Day of Atonement, and two of these addresses, one entitled "The Orphaned Jew and the Jewish Orphan," are included in this collection. Closely related to it is his address on "Patriotism and Religion," delivered before the Jewish Chautauqua in 1897. A signal achievement which is largely due to his efforts is associated with his paper "The B'nai B'rith and the Statue of Religious Liberty," outlining the movement which led to the erection of the Statue of Religious Liberty in Philadelphia in 1876 as a gift from the Independent Order B'nai B'rith. Related to this is an address delivered before the Scottish Rites in New York on April 13, 1911, entitled "Are We Not All Brethren?"; as early as 1868 he published an address delivered before the Masons of Washington, the only copy of which extant seems to be found on the shelves of the New York Public Library. Brief addresses delivered at the biennial Conventions of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations at Baltimore in 1917, in Boston in 1919, and in New York in 1923, are of special interest, and are included. It was also felt that the volume would

not be complete without including one of his typical annual reports as Chairman of the Board of Delegates on Civil Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the report for the year ending October 31st, 1922, the last he prepared, has been selected, particularly because it is of continuing value, and because it deals at somewhat greater length than does the necrology, with the history of the Board of Delegates on Civil Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, whose history was really his own for more than a generation.

September 1, 1926.

Max J. Kohler
Arthur H. Sulzberger
Ludwig Vogelstein
David Philipson, *Chairman*

SIMON WOLF

By Max J. Kohler

SIMON WOLF, who went to his eternal reward on June 4th, 1923, in his 87th year, was often aptly described as "Ambassador of the Jews of the United to States to Washington," so completely did he identify himself with the protection of the rights of his co-religionists at our national capital for over sixty years. Justice Wendell Phillips Stafford, a distinguished Washingtonian, familiar at close range with his activities, said of him in the "Foreword" to his *The Presidents I Have Known from* 1860 *to* 1918: "Becoming in his own way the typical man of his race in this country, he has been nothing more truly or more completely than this—a fearless, honest, uncompromising defender of free principles, a loyal and patriotic American." A well-informed Chicago Jewish journalist, Herman Eliassof, in an elaborate study of "German-American Jews," contributed to the Year Book of the German American Historical Society of Illinois for 1914, linked his name with Jacob H. Schiff and Oscar S. Straus as the three most prominent Jewish leaders in the United States at that time (pp. 385-6), and there is no justification for deleting his name from such a group, whatever disposition there may be to augment it. He achieved distinction in such varied fields as those of the philanthropist, the publicist, the historian, the communal worker, the orator, and the statesman.

Born in Hinzweller, Rheinish-Bavaria, Germany, on October 28th, 1836, Simon Wolf accompanied his grandparents to the United States in the memorable year 1848, and was, indeed, a "48er" in his love for democratic and liberal government, devotion to country, and high ideals. His father, Levi Wolf (1811-1893), long an invalid, was a teacher of Hebrew, and it was doubtless from him that the young lad acquired his fondness for learning, devotion to the Jewish faith, and the unquenchable love for literature and the arts, which never left him, finding expression in familiarity with the classics of various tongues, and keeping him abreast of the latest works of history, fiction and Jewish lore to his last day. But it was to his devoted mother, Amalia Ulman, that he was particularly fond of expressing his indebtedness—to quote the dedication of his "Presidents"—for the "inspiring optimism and constant teaching of the Golden Rule (which) gave impulse and direction to my course of life." His grandfather, Benjamin Wolf, settled in Cleveland, and it was there, soon afterwards, and in Uhrichsville, Ohio, that the young boy acquired the rudiments of an English education, soon followed by service as salesman and bookkeeper in the store of his uncles, Abraham and Elias Wolf. His love for professional life and learning, however, induced him in 1859, to read law in the office of Judge Yance of New Philadelphia, and to attend the Cleveland Law School, from which he was graduated with honors; he was admitted to the Ohio bar on July 19th, 1861, on the day the battle of Bull Run was fought. Defective eye-sight caused his rejection when he volunteered to serve his country on the battle-field, and, after practising law in Ohio, and

marrying Caroline Hahn of Suffield, Ohio, in 1857, he moved to Washington, D. C., in June, 1862. An interesting document lies before me, dated Cleveland, August 7th, 1861, signed by a committee of three, headed by Benjamin F. Peixotto, expressing regrets on behalf of the local Young Men's Hebrew Literary Society, at Simon Wolf's departure from Cleveland at the close of his law course, as he had then already actively identified himself with the political and Jewish religious interests of the place of his sojourn. In fact, even earlier, he had been prominent in political affairs, had identified himself with the northern or Douglas wing of the Democratic party, and had served as alternate at the Charleston and Baltimore Democratic national conventions of 1860. Shortly after, he became an active Republican by reason of developments of the slavery and union questions.

While practising law in Washington, he soon became representative at the capital of important Jewish national organizations, particularly of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites (merged in 1878 with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations) and of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, and it was chiefly to communal interests that he devoted his time unceasingly and unstintingly in Washington for many decades. His masterly oratory was requisitioned in every national political campaign from 1868 to 1900, and during a still larger span of years he served as a member of the Presidential inaugural exercises committees. In 1869 President Grant appointed him Recorder for the District of Columbia, which post he held until 1878. In July, 1881, President Garfield selected him to be Consul General to Egypt, a

more important American diplomatic post than any theretofore held by a professing Jew, but he resigned the office about a year later, owing to illness in his family. For his co-religionists in Egypt, his appointment seemed to be a revival of the days of Joseph. Previous to his Egyptian mission, he had been appointed a Justice in the District of Columbia, and for many years he served as a member of the Boards of Charities and of Education of the District. But while his public services indicate governmental recognition of his invaluable activities, his claim to fame rests upon his untiring efforts as a private citizen in the ranks.

Simon Wolf placed on record his faith in President Buchanan's loyalty and desire to serve his country according to his lights, and mentions the interesting circumstance that when he expressed to Buchanan his and his friend Henry Greenebaum's appreciation of his services, the President facetiously remarked: "That is a good set-off for Judah P. Benjamin," whose conspicuous devotion to the slavery cause often led to erroneous references to "Israelites with Egyptian principles." Typical of Wolf's services during the Civil War is his narrative of an interview he succeeded in securing about two o'clock one morning with President Lincoln, to obtain a pardon for a young Jewish soldier, awaiting immediate execution as a deserter, this sentence having resulted from his desire to heed his dying mother's request to receive her last message in person. As in many other cases, Lincoln disregarded Secretary Stanton's wishes, pardoned the young man and lived to learn of his being subsequently shot to death, fighting for his country, at the battle of Cold

Harbor. Simon Wolf was active in causing General Butler to modify his offensive reference to Jews in an official war despatch, and was one of a group to persuade President Lincoln to rescind Gen. Grant's famous "Order No. 11" of 1862, excluding Jewish civilians as a class from the army lines, and in giving publicity to Grant's own explanation that he had had no personal participation in the issuance of the order. In November, 1864, he published in the *New York Evening Post* a widely reprinted conclusive "Defence of the Jewish Race" against unjustified criticisms born of prejudice, which sought improperly to identify the Jews with the Confederate cause. Scarcely less pronounced was Simon Wolf's continuing defence, for decades, of the patriotic Americans of German Christian origin, whom also he represented at the capital for many years.

With President Grant, Simon Wolf's relations were particularly close. During the Presidential campaign which resulted in Grant's first election to the chief magistracy, Wolf took particular pains to clear away Jewish resentment at "Order No. 11", having become convinced, after careful investigation, that no libel upon the Jewish race was intended. When in April, 1869, early in his administration, President Grant decided to appoint Simon Wolf recorder of the District of Columbia, the latter was at first disposed to decline an appointment which would take him away from his professional activities as a lawyer, but when he ascertained that confirmation of the appointment was being opposed because of his Jewish faith, he announced his desire to accept, fought the battle on this very issue, and, with the assistance of Hannibal Hamlin, John

W. Patterson, Carl Schurz and John A. Bingham, secured unanimous confirmation.

It was during Grant's administration that the persecution of the Jews in Roumania became acute, and Simon Wolf was the leading advocate of the appointment of Benjamin F. Peixotto as United States Consul at Bucharest, with a particular view of devising plans to ameliorate their condition. On behalf of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites and of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith, Wolf toured the country several times, aroused interest in this question, and collected large sums of money in aid of Peixotto's undertaking. In the work entitled *"Jewish Disabilities in the Balkan States,"* published by him and the present writer jointly in 1916, details of this important mission were published, including excerpts from contemporaneous reports rendered to him by Peixotto. During the same administration, largely through Wolf's influence, the Independent Order B'nai B'rith raised money for the presentation of Sir Moses Ezekiel's statue of "Religious Liberty" standing in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, in commemoration of the first centenary of the republic. One of the earliest separately published addresses of Simon Wolf that has come under notice was a memorial to Isaac Leeser, published in 1868, though the increasing demand on his oratorical gifts is evidenced by the publication in pamphlet form, already in 1863, of an address delivered before the Washington Literary and Dramatic Association. In the very year 1868 when his eulogy on Leeser was published, appeared a further address entitled "Random Thoughts," as delivered before the Washington lodge of the I. O. B. B. Probably no American Jew

was called upon to use his oratorical powers for beneficent ends as frequently as, or more widely than, he.

Simon Wolf, all his life-time was a devoted Jew, and never begrudged either time or effort, when he could serve the ancestral faith, or other worthy causes, whose name was indeed legion, appealing to him. He served the Washington Jewish congregation repeatedly as president, and often preached from its pulpit, ably expounding the principles of Reform Judaism in consonance with his American patriotism. Thoroughly imbued with the value of organization and union, he was an early and untiring ally of Isaac M. Wise in founding and maintaining the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and was always active at its biennial conventions, sometimes as presiding officer. It was upon his motion that the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, in which he had long been active, was merged in 1878 with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and he was the untiring and indefatigable Chairman of the Board of Delegates on Civil Rights of that body for over thirty-three years, so that its history was virtually a narrative of Simon Wolf's public activities, as I had occasion to establish in a history of that body, published in 1923, its jubilee year. Its annual printed reports are a continuous narrative of his tireless, unremunerated and self-sacrificing activities on behalf of his co-religionists, day and night, knowing no cessation, in connection with every question that arose affecting their interests, particularly those of immigrants. No activity which concerned the welfare of American Jews, from 1870 to 1923, found him passive. If, in a rare instance, he was not directly appealed to by those immediately concerned, the Gov-

ernment itself would call him into council, so well-known were his devotion to Jewish interests, his good judgment, and his sterling American patriotism.

His activities on behalf of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith (which he joined in 1865) were scarcely less pronounced than those on behalf of the Board of Delegates, and many of his actions were taken in their joint behalf, as he was the Washington Resident Member of the Order for about 60 years, presided over its Grand Lodge Conventions in 1875 and 1879, served as president of his District for two terms and was president of the organization, as successor to Leo N. Levi, in 1904-5. Almost alone, he collected $150,000 for the establishment of the Atlanta Hebrew Orphan Asylum, which he founded, and of which he was president for over a quarter of a century, and he was also one of the founders of the Baltimore Orphan Asylum. Scarcely less conspicuous were his services to the Masons of the United States, to the Order Kesher Shel Barzel, to the Red Cross Association, and to German and non-sectarian Washington charities.

Reference has been made to his service in securing the appointment of Peixotto to work for the amelioration of the condition of Roumanian Jews on behalf of our Government. Long after Peixotto had passed away, Simon Wolf worked day in and day out for the emancipation of the Roumanian Jew, and he was one of the small group that induced President Roosevelt to despatch the famous Hay note on Roumania, and ultimately to interest President Wilson in plans for protecting Jewish religious minorities in Roumania in the peace treaties signed at the close of the World War.

His services on behalf of the persecuted Jews of Russia were no less devoted and incessant. They began early in Grant's second administration, when he attended a meeting of the Cabinet, called to devise measures to help the Jews of Bessarabia, whose expulsion from Russian territory was then imminent. Our Government, largely through his efforts, made repeated representations on behalf of the persecuted Russian Jews; these rendered temporary aid, but little fundamental change of attitude resulted. Sometimes the conditions were complicated by American Russophiles, like Eugene Schuyler, one time Secretary of the Legation at St. Petersburg, whose promotion to a more responsible post Wolf successfully opposed.

Almost from Grant's day on, one important phase of this question was Russia's discrimination against American citizens of the Jewish religion, whose passports Russia declined to honor, in breach of treaty faith, by reason of her own domestic racial and religious discriminations, and Simon Wolf's efforts to right this wrong, through appeals to President, State Department and congressional committees, were incessant. In 1903, when Leo N. Levi conceived the plan of having our Government submit the "Kishineff Massacre Petition" to Russia, Simon Wolf was one of the leading factors in inducing President Roosevelt to forward the petition, and it was to him that Secretary Hay, under date of June 24, 1903, wrote the formal official communication, asking for delivery of the petition for transmittal to Russia. Significant was President Roosevelt's introduction of Simon Wolf to Wm. H. Moody, his Secretary of the Navy, in a letter under date of June 19, 1904, in which he said : "Mr. Wolf is

as good an American as can be found on this continent." When, during President Taft's administration, Louis Marshall, Jacob H. Schiff and their associates in the American Jewish Committee concluded that the abrogation of the dishonored Russian passport treaty were the only solution of that controversy, Simon Wolf was one of the conferees to whom the President turned for advice on February 15th, 1911. Simon Wolf's "Presidents I Have Known" gives the ablest extant report of the movement which culminated in this abrogation, as also of the Kishineff Massacre Petition incident. The movement for the abrogation of the Russian Treaty had his loyal support. It should, moreover, be remembered that, until the American Jewish Committee was formed in 1906, the Board of Delegates, under Simon Wolf's chairmanship, had for decades, been the only official body representing Jews of our country, with respect to protection of civil and religious rights, and his activities did not abate, when the new organization was formed.

Simon Wolf's services in championing the absolute separation of Church and State, and opposing all infringements upon religious liberty, were untiring. They embraced movements against governmental classification of Hebrews as such (see his "Presidents," pp. 238-264), the use of the Bible and sectarian instruction in the public schools, and discrimination against his co-religionists in public offices and institutions, as well as all efforts to organize a "Jewish vote" on any civic issue. His complete identification with his beloved country, and his firm acceptance of Reform Judaism, also made him a strong opponent of political Zionism, till his dying day. On the other hand, little appealed

to him more than the need for religious education for American Jews and the promotion of congregational activities.

It is, however, as the champion and devoted friend of the immigrant, that Simon Wolf is likely to be best remembered, and when a wide-scaled celebration of his 80th birthday took place in 1916, the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society tendered him a banquet in New York, devoting its December, 1916, "Bulletin" entirely to an account of it. It was there calculated that he had been instrumental in preventing the deportation of no fewer than 103,000 Jewish immigrants, thus opening to them the opportunity to become worthy and self-supporting Americans. Beginning early in 1881, at no hour of the day or night were the ears of this American patriot closed to the entreaties of those of his unfortunate East European co-religionists, who sought to enter this land of promise. Such self-sacrificing, indefatigable, and disinterested devotion is indeed unique. No eight hour or twice eight hour day was long enough to afford time for such achievement, which meant incessant personal communication with the immigration officials during their office hours, and telephonic and written communications long before and after such hours. Secretary of Labor Nagel well described his methods by saying: "The way Mr. Wolf approaches us is calculated to get best results, because he comes to us fairly, good-naturedly, and when he is defeated, he recognizes our point of view. That is the spirit in which you ought to come. You must keep in mind that an organization engaged in the protection of alien people naturally assumes the character of an advocate. It is bound to do it. It is

human." His warm sympathy, his conscientious fidelity to truth, and his devotion, above all, to the interests of our country, on the one hand, and, on the other, the respect which he aroused for his indefatigable self-sacrificing zeal, and sane and tactful petitioning, account for such a record of admissions of unfortunate fugitives from persecution. This work by this German-born American patriot, almost exclusively for the benefit of Russian and Roumanian co-religionists, many of whom had been disposed abroad to quarrel and dislike each other, has been an important factor in abolishing in the United States, the distinction between a "Portuguese Jewish Synagogue," and English, Bohemian, German, Polish, Russian and Roumanian congregations. Our unifying and democratic melting pot welds them all alike into patriotic American citizens of the Jewish faith.

In fact, it was largely due to Simon Wolf, aided in later years, by Jacob H. Schiff, Louis Marshall and a few others, that American Jews ardently espoused the policy of the "open-door" for their persecuted European brethren, and did not follow the dictates of self-interest, or the line of least resistance, as did English Jews in 1771, and concur in efforts to exclude them from our land. Generally, Simon Wolf's role was wisely that of a mild Aaron, rather than that of a fiery Moses, but he could, when occasion called for it, be righteously indignant, and he loved to associate more vehement spirits in his activities. His published correspondence with Senator Chandler, the opponent of the Jewish immigrant of the early nineties, was not lacking in vehemence, nor was his disapproval of Commissioner Williams' lawlessness in 1910. In 1891 he

secured from Secretary of State Foster, one of the ablest state-papers we have, which justified the admission of the Russian refugees from religious persecution who counted on the assistance of relatives and friends here for temporary maintenance, and thereby kept the door open to these unhappy fugitives, and a decade later, Wolf secured an important ruling that persons dependent on private charity are not public charges. Able and convincing arguments were made by him on behalf of the immigrants, before the United States Industrial Commission of 1901, and the United States Immigration Commission of 1910, and before numerous Congressional committees. He it was who led the movement for the federal legislation which compelled the steamship companies, under heavy penalties, to give the immigrants a physical examination before their embarkation, so that these companies should not close their eyes to obvious excluding defects, in order to fill their own coffers. Nor were either negro or Chinaman beyond the reach of his sympathetic voice or pen, and Father Walter of St. Patrick's Church of Washington once said: "The best Christian in Washington is Simon Wolf, the Jew."

Amidst all his other pursuits, Simon Wolf found time for important historical and literary labors. To him we owe our most important study in American Jewish history, published in 1895 under the title "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen." As already observed, even while the Civil War was in progress, he had published a strong defence of the Jews of America against the charge of lack of patriotism. Aroused by an absurdly false statement in the North American Review in 1891, denying that Jews

had served their country on the battle-field during the great struggle for union, Simon Wolf, single handed, attempted a task which scores jointly would have hesitated to undertake, namely, a systematic examination of the army rolls of all our States, as well as those of the navy, followed up by careful confirmation, with the result that he was able to publish, alphabetically arranged under state divisions, the names of over 8,000 Jewish soldiers of that combat, establishing the fact that Jews had participated far beyond their quota on a population basis. Seldom, if ever, did a more conclusive refutation of a libel appear. The work was supplemented by interesting accounts of Jewish patriotism, on the battle-field and in civic life, covering our entire national history, as well as a valuable compilation of characterizations by distinguished non-Jews, of Jewish contributions to civilization. The proceeds of the sale of the work were devoted to his favorite charity, The Atlanta Jewish Orphans' Home.

An active charter member and director of the American Jewish Historical Society from its organization, in 1892, he also published interesting biographies of Mordecai M. Noah and Commodore Uriah P. Levy (the latter in the American Jewish Year Book for 5663). His autobiography, *"The Presidents I Have Known from* 1860 *to* 1918," which has been cited several times herein, appeared five years before his death, and is invaluable to the student of American Jewish history, because it describes vividly and accurately many important incidents in which Simon Wolf figured. While space does not permit even an enumeration of the thousands of pamphlets and articles he published during a busy life, at least a passing reference is

in order to one of his best known and felicitous lectures, published in 1888 under the title "Influence of the Jews on the Progress of the World."

Enthusiastic, untiring, and mentally vigorous until carried off in his 87th year, few careers can challenge comparison with his for continuing beneficence and ceaseless activity. To the loving care of his second wife, Amy Lichtenstein, a niece of his intimate associate, Julius Bien, whom he married November 3rd, 1892, is largely due much of his activity during the last few decades of his life. There were born to him, during his first marriage, children who achieved distinction: Adolph Grant Wolf, Judge of the Supreme Court of Porto Rico since 1904; Florence W. Gotthold, a talented artist; Helen W. Cohen, wife of his longtime partner and associate, Myer Cohen, and May V. Wolf.

Among those closing incidents in his career of which Simon Wolf was particularly proud, was the matter of securing written assurances in 1915 from President Wilson that he would use whatever opportunities the peace conference would afford for international protection of persecuted Jews the world over. Woodrow Wilson wrote to him: "I hope that it is not necessary for me to state again my determination to do the right and possible thing at the right and feasible time with regard to the great interest you so eloquently allude to in your letter," and he fully redeemed this promise at the Peace Conference of Versailles, besides using his efforts at the very end of his administration to keep the door open to the victim of European persecution, by vetoing the first immigration percentum restriction bill. On the occasion of Simon Wolf's 80th birthday,

the same great War president wrote for the year-book then presented to Wolf the appropriate sentiment: "Prejudice is provincial, truth and justice go hand in hand in this blessed country."

On the occasion of Simon Wolf's 85th birthday, President Harding wrote: "It is impossible to think of him as anything but a young, an eternally active, a working American. His is the spirit of everlasting youth and usefulness." When Simon Wolf passed away, his intimate friend, Chief Justice Taft said: "He was a leader in Israel, and had the interests of his people deeply at heart. He labored much for them. He was a man of intellectual force, of conviction and courage of expression. He was greatly respected by all who knew him, and this included all the prominent men in the Government for many decades of his long and honored life. In his death the country loses a patriot, and the Jewish people a strong man." But no more felicitous tribute was brought to him than this of ex-Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels: "No man has been more forward to reach out a helping hand to those in need. Truly it may be said of him, as it was of Abou ben Adhem: 'Write me as one who loves his fellow-men.'"

In Memoriam*

SIMON WOLF

Chairman Board of Delegates on Civil Rights

Died June 4, 1923

AT THE first convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held since the passing of Simon Wolf from the scene of his earthly activities in June, 1923, the Delegates assembled from all parts of the country deem it a duty to make public record of their appreciation of his unforgettable services in the cause of Judaism and in behalf of the Jewish victims of oppression and persecution, although at the time of his death, well nigh two years ago, both the Executive Board of the Union and the Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights gave fitting expression to their feeling of what he had done during the half century of his unselfish and devoted service.

A familiar figure at every Convention of the Union from the first held in Cincinnati in the year eighteen hundred and seventy-three to the Jubilee Meeting celebrating the fiftieth anniversary held in the City of New York in January, 1923, a few months before his death, Simon Wolf occupied a distinguished place in the Councils of the Union, and aided mightily in shaping its policy and carrying out its aims. For five decades he was the representative of the Union and its spokes-

*Minute adopted by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, January, 1925.

man in the Capitol of the Nation. He fulfilled this exalted mission with singular fidelity and ability. He was untiring in his service and unremitting in his devotion. Loyal to his faith and to his country, he stood forth as a fine type of the American Jew.

Simon Wolf was a watchman on the tower of humanity. He was an illustrious son of the synagogue. He is numbered among the great in Israel in our United States. He shall never be forgotten. In the annals of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations his name shall ever be in the very forefront. He was among that select company who constantly and unreservedly upheld the hands of the great founder, Isaac M. Wise, to whom he was a brother. He had a passion for service. He heeded to the full the call of the ancient prophet, inasmuch as he did all in his power to make justice flow as water and righteousness as an unfailing stream. He was a friend to the needy in distress, a father to the fatherless, a helper of the helpless. Thousands arose during his life time and called him blessed. His name is written high in American Judaism's hall of fame.

As man, as American, as Jew, he was faithful in all his ways. He loved his fellowman, he served his God. The world was better for his having lived. He shall be held in loving and appreciative remembrance. He was among the chosen. Whenever the call came, "Who will go for us?", he never failed to respond, "Here am I, send me." He was a true servant of the Lord.

Twenty-ninth Council of the Union
of American Hebrew Congregations,
KARL M. VETSBURG, *President*

THE INFLUENCE OF THE JEWS ON THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD*

"If there are ranks in suffering, Israel takes the precedence of all nations; if the duration of sorrows and the patience with which they are borne ennoble, the Jews are among the aristocracy of every land; if a like nation is called rich in the possession of a few classic tragedies, what shall we say to a national tragedy lasting for fifteen hundred years, in which the poets and the actors were also the heroes."—GEORGE ELIOT in *Daniel Deronda.*

BEFORE I enter into the merits of my discourse, allow me to briefly say that whatsoever will fall from my lips tonight is not intended to humiliate the Christian or for the purpose of elevating the Jew. Whenever I shall speak of facts, they will be historical, leaving it to your intelligence to construe, your imagination to color, them. My purpose, so far as in my power lies,

*At the urgent request of many friends, I herewith offer to the public an address first delivered in Washington, D. C., before the "Schiller Bund," and subsequently in many cities of the Union. I have now revised it; in fact made it almost a new lecture; and it is an attempt to answer recent scurrilous anti-Semitic speeches and publications.

I lay no claim to originality; only hope that it may inspire others who are far more capable to do better. One thing I can truthfully say—that months of weary labor have been devoted to this work; and if it causes a single person to modify his opinion in favor of the Jews, I am more than compensated.

SIMON WOLF

Washington, D. C., April 1, 1888.

is to disabuse the minds of many, to gratify the hate and pride of no one, but, if possible, to instruct all, for I have found in my experience that the American Christians, no matter how intellectual they may be, have but an uncertain idea as to the history and characteristics of the Jews. Some years ago I had to see the late Charles Sumner. The burden of our conversation was the then condition of the Jews in Roumania, and I found he knew more of the negro in Africa than of his Jewish fellow-citizen in America; and from an intended interview of ten minutes, it spun itself out to hours—he, as usual, anxious to be enlightened, and not ashamed to concede his want of knowledge. And what was true of this gifted statesman is equally true of the majority of men—their knowledge is either legendary or sectarian.

The subject is one that naturally lies nearest to my heart, one that has engrossed every fibre of my being, grown with my growth, until it has assumed proportions, commanding and yet pleasing.

I sincerely hope that in the brief time allotted, I may, to some extent, give you a pen-picture of a people that will live in your memory. Live in honor and respect. Live in peace and harmony with the noblest and purest of your aspirations. Not the Jew as Chatham street merchant, which character he has in common with every race. Not the Jew as the warrior who by the sword conquers and causes misery to millions,—but the Jew who, by the sword of truth, cleaves the mail of error and bigotry, who, with the torch of light and morality, illuminates the highways and byways of the world's busy mart; in short, the man-Jew, the citizen of a great and enlightened Republic

in the highest and best characteristics of manhood. There is no tyranny more exacting than the proverb which, coined by the brain alchemists of every age, passes into daily life a sovereign to dictate and to awe into silence, truth and every embodiment of fact. From this tyranny no people has suffered to a greater extent than the Jewish, from the dawn of earliest history up to the present day. We are the constant target against which not alone every whipper-in, but the noblest huntsmen, have levelled their arrows of thought—arrows, alas, too often tipped by the poison of hate, envy, malice, and bigotry.

Shakespeare, "the noblest Roman," Dickens, and others have catered to a taste depraved, to a feeling unjust, but, nevertheless "Shylock" and "Fagin," instead of being recognized as types of wretched, debauched, dissolute, or revengeful manhood, are held up as the standard of Jewish morality and want of character.

Intolerance, with its legendary absurdities, aids by bringing in the myth of the "Wandering Jew," to prove that he lacks the feelings of common hospitality and charity. And thus a people which saw creation in its inception, which have kept pace with the strides of history, is defamed, traduced, and persecuted. It is a poor commentary on the intelligence of our age, particularly in this country, that the Jew, as he stands out in the world of morals and thought, is so little known, so little appreciated, and yet but for him, there would be no morals to preserve. He has been and is the greatest conservator; others have fallen by the wayside; he has kept right on; no sectarian bias has caused him to swerve from the path of duty; his re-

ligion, pure and simple, instead of being a burden, has been an impulse aiding him to break through the dark clouds of prejudice; and, as every great writer now concedes, it was the Jew who throughout the dark ages preserved intact the glorious treasures of literature and science. And today he stands in countries where his reason has full sway, the peer of the best, the inferior of no one.

And yet there exists "the-harping-on-his-daughter" grudge of by-gone ages. Not a day passes that we do not meet it, either in our business pursuits or in our social intercourse; not only from those whose inborn ignorance is their excuse, but also in those whose readings have taken a wide range and who claim to be cosmopolitan. And to this deplorable fact no one has contributed more than the press, and not only the press, but even our lexicographers. The Jew is treated by both with that contempt which is either the offspring of ignorance and bigotry, or what is in a public educator far worse—indifference or carelessness.

To deride, to jeer, to make the Jew the shaft of senseless wit, has been a welcome task to many of our journals; to define the word "Jew" as one who cheats, defrauds, nay, "steals," a standing definition sent broadcast by Webster and Worcester; and only recently have these unjust words been eliminated; owing to the efforts of our esteemed fellow-citizen, one of my co-religionists, the honored A. S. Solomons, Esq., of Washington. The cruel words have taken deep root, however; and, whether stricken out or not, they live and have their being in the hearts of those whose prejudice, like Banquo's ghost, "will not down." The evil does not lie in the definition of words, but

in the want of knowledge and liberality. Unfortunately, owing to the same causes, the Jew is looked upon as an alien to refinement, a pariah to patriotism, an outcast to social life, incapable of higher aims and objects, other than the sordid ones of amassing wealth or bribing themselves into power. Some of the prejudice prevalent in the United States against the Jew is to be traced and has its origin in the German emigrant. Many coming here have had but little education or refinement; they remember the Jew in his old home as the outcast of society; they cannot tolerate the idea that the Jew should be treated with decency; they grow envious of his wealth and public worth, and embrace every opportunity to insinuate those stale and bigoted ideas which at one time disgraced Germany, and proved a source of such great sorrow and misfortune to the Jew, and have been used as a political trick by the Iron Chancellor. Thank Heaven, Frederick the Third has already proclaimed his abhorrence of such methods. Let it be my pleasant duty to show you who the Jew is; why he was persecuted; the logical sequence of that persecution; his standing in countries where oppressed—in countries where free; also to show you how much he has contributed to the world's progress; and that, instead of being an object of pity or derision, he should, as he deserves to, be admired, esteemed, and cultivated. I shall not dwell on religious themes to proselytize—shall only touch upon them as they are necessary to complete the picture; nor shall I spare the foibles and follies of my people, for, human as they are, they have human failings; and to have them treated on the score of humanity, and not upon the senseless phrase—"What more

can you expect; he is a Jew"—is the aim and purpose of my discourse.

In quoting from many writers, I shall not let a single Jew speak. Christians born, or those who became such, shall alone tell the story of our woes and glory.

I shall not discuss the Bible characters one by one, but simply ask, what character in history is equal to that of Moses? How grandly he looms up. No figure on the canvas of time surpasses him in knowledge and the ethics of life. He laid broad and deep those furrows in the field of morality and law from which have sprung seeds of eternal youth and order. On Sinai's mount were given to the children of men the sublime tenets that underlie the safety and welfare of society, and which have done more for the world's progress than aught else. The belief in a Supreme Being, not one of clay, wood, or brass, but a spiritual one, was there inculcated. The using of His holy name in vain interdicted. The keeping of the Sabbath made obligatory. The honoring of father and mother made the chief cardinal virtue, in contradistinction of the then usages to kill old parents or throw them to the wild beasts. The mother when a widow became the slave of the eldest son. The laws of Moses gave her the same honor, love, and obedience as when the father lived. Life was at a discount; hence in trumpet tones the law, "Thou shalt not kill." Society suffered from licentious vices. Virtue among females was unknown; hence the warning, "Thou shalt not commit adultery." Theft and perjury were condemned, and even the evil thoughts were declared sinful. How the 2,000 years of Indian and Egyptian history dwindle into insig-

nificance compared to that moment on Sinai. The Pyramids built up by the tears and agony of slaves are nothing but rude stones to point the moral of man's inhumanity; but the laws of Moses were the pillars on which the temple of virtue and morality was erected. It was the birth-hour, not only of the Jewish people, but of the world. The simple and yet deep truths of a spiritual God, one who aids the enslaved and oppressed, the honoring of parents, the respecting of your neighbor's household and property, the horror and infamy of telling a lie—these, and much more, were first enunciated by Moses, and with these a new discovery was made: Man examining himself by the light of these divine laws found that he had a conscience. It is true, other nations made laws before and after, but they were based on oppression; had for their object slavery—not only physical, but mental. On Sinai's mount was first proclaimed equality and freedom. To Moses we owe the Republican form of Government, the forming of a Senate composed of select men; the election of tried and trusted elders to advise and counsel, had their being with him. The appointing of judges also, to whom he gave the all-important advice to be ever just, not only to the Israelite, but also to the stranger.*

They should not respect title, but honor all alike, shun bribery, and do their duty fearlessly. The love of your neighbor, fraternity, equality, mercy, and

*How different the conduct of a U. S. Judge who, presiding in Richmond, Va. in charging a jury while two Jews were on trial, said: "Gentlemen of the jury, the defendants at the bar are Jews and that implies everything." Was there ever anything more infamous? And right here let me say that this has grown into a deplorable evil with both bench and bar.

justice were the ideals which Moses placed before his people. It was a golden era; it was the betrothal of Israel to holy and pure laws; and they have in the face of all, after persecutions, remained true and steadfast, departing from these precepts only when their tyrants and oppressors robbed them of all independent action and thought, or when too much freedom has turned their heads, and led them into channels of materializing.

Boast of your Greek, Roman, virtue and stoicism; they fade into the dim, hazy distance compared to Moses. Of him it can be said that no charge of bribery or peculation was ever laid to his door. Rude as were the times, he died poor, but rich in the love of his people. Simple as he had lived, he was buried—no one knows where—so as to teach his followers that God alone should be worshipped—not inanimate clay; no pomp or display; both were foreign to his nature. The world has progressed since then, but such a character could do no harm in these days of statesmanship.

The Jews began as nomads migrating "from nation to nation, from State to State." Their laws made them agriculturists for fifteen centuries. Their exile has transformed them into a mercantile people. They have struggled for their national existence against the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Syrians, and Romans; have been conquered and nearly exterminated by each of these powers, and have survived them all. They have been oppressed and persecuted by emperors and republics, sultans and popes, Moors and inquisitors. They were proscribed in Catholic Spain, Protestant Norway, and Greek Muscovy; while their perse-

cutors sang the hymns of their psalmists, revered their books, believed in their prophets, and even persecuted them in the name of their God. And it can be truthfully said that the Helots of Sparta, the Pariahs of India, the Moslems of Turkey, the Negroes of America, have suffered less than the Jews in Christian Europe.

The Jews of the Middle Ages were persecuted, not only for their money, but also, as Goethe says to Eckerman, "because they believed in God and nature, and in the victory of the good over the bad;" and yet the Christians who persecuted were, as Schiller says: "They preached love of your neighbor, and cursed from their doors the hoary-headed blind." And yet we are justified in claiming that from the earliest dawn of Jewish history, the Jews of all nations were the pioneers of civilization, the progenitors of religion and morals, for Herodotus and Strabo tell us that the Egyptians and Syrians, and in fact all of the nations surrounding the Jews, worshipped idols, and had monthly and yearly festivals where prostitution and bacchanalian rites formed the worship. So debasing and vicious were their habits, that children of tender age became as degraded as their elders; and in spite of all these surroundings, Israel remained firm in its faith, worshipped the great Jehovah, and practiced those virtues which today are its greatest pride. It is to them the world owes religion in all its purity, morality in all its elevation, and history in all its teachings. And as the women of Israel in those degenerate days were pious, true, and virtuous, so they have, with rare exceptions, remained, moulding and training their offspring, and stimulated by sentiments of love and devotion foreign to the fashion of today. And

what greater proof can a people offer as to their influence and progress than to remain stationary in the paths of virtue? One of America's greatest poets, Wm. Cullen Bryant, in criticising Booth's Shylock, thus depicts the Jews and their home-life (and answers the accepted version of Shylock being a representative Jew):

"In terming Shylock 'the Jew whom Shakespeare drew,' there is a perfect logic, for Shylock is, of all Shakespeare's characters, the only one untrue to nature. He is not a Jew but a fiend presented in the form of one; and whereas he is made a ruling type, he is but an exception, if even that, and the exception is not to be met with either in the Ghettos of Venice or of Rome. Shakespeare holds up the love of money that marks the race, although he does not show that this passion was but the effect of that persecution which, by crowding the Jew out of every honorable pursuit, and thus cutting off his nature from every sympathy with the world around, sharpened and edged the keen corners of his brain for the only pursuit left to him.

"It is true that money-changers, once spat on in the Ghetto, are now hugged in the palace. But we fear that it is not so much that the prejudice against the Jews, has ceased, but that the love of money among the Christians has increased. Shakespeare was not true in the picture he has drawn of the Jew, cravings for revenge, and in the contempt with which he is treated by his daughter. Revenge is not a characteristic of the Jew. He is subject to sudden fits of passion, but that intellect which always stands sentinel over the Hebrew soon subdues the gust. However strong in Shylock's time might have been the hatred of the Jew to the Christian, the lust of lucre was more strong, and Shakespeare might have ransacked every Ghetto in Christendom without finding a Jew who would have preferred a pound of flesh to a pound

sterling (or Christian either); and Jews also shrink from physical contests. Their disposition is to triumph by intellect rather than violence. It was this trait more than any other which rendered them, in the Middle Ages, so repulsive to the masses, who were all of the Morrissey and muscular Christianity school. The contempt of a daughter for her parent is equally uncharacteristic of the Jew. The Jews are universally admired for the affections which adorn their domestic life. The more they have been pushed from the society of the family of man, the greater the intensity with which they have clung to the love of their own family.

"No one can ever have visited the houses of the Jews without having been struck by the glowing affection with which the daughter greets the father, as he returns from the day's campaign and the slights and sneers his Gaberdine and yellow cap provoke, and without observing how those small, restless eyes, that sparkle and gleam, shine out in a softened, loving lustre as they fall upon the face of Rebecca, or Jessica, or Sarah, and how he stands no longer with crooked back, but erect and commanding, as he blesses his household gods with an exultation as vehement as the prejudices which during the day have galled and fretted his nature. To do justice to the grandeurs of the Jewish race, and to brand with infamy its infirmities, it would only be just to give expression to the former, and to exhibit that superiority of intellect which has survived all persecution, and which, soaring above the prejudices of the hour, has filled us with reluctant admiration on finding how many of the great events which mark the progress of the age, or minister to its improvements, or elevate its tastes, may be traced to the wonderful workings of the soul of the Hebrew, and the supremacy of that spiritual nature which gave to mankind its noblest religion, its noblest laws, and some of its noblest poesy and music."

To properly appreciate Jewish progress, one must

read of their persecutions, their indomitable courage; and these, as told by Christian writers, fill volumes. I cite a few only. At the conclusion of his history of the Jews in England, prior to their final expulsion in 1290, the historian Blunt says:

- "In throwing back a glance over the facts that are stated in the few pages of the preceding narrative, it must be acknowledged that a spirit of relentless cruelty pervades the whole, and we cannot but feel that the exactions and barbarities which are there recorded mark an indelible stain upon that period of our history; they are blots in the characters of the successive monarchs, and are painfully indicative of the cupidity, ferocity, and ignorance of the people. On the other hand, we must admit that the conduct of the Jews themselves under their continuous sufferings and oppressions, while it furnishes a fresh example of the characteristic perseverance with which they brave all dangers and difficulties in the pursuit of wealth, affords a further proof of the resignation, fortitude, and self-devotion for which their nation has ever been distinguished.

"It is worthy of remark that, notwithstanding the bitter and vindictive animosity which the Christians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries exhibited against the Hebrew race, the expenses of the Crusades and the journey to the Holy Land were defrayed for the most part by means of robbery and plunder of the wealthy Jews, and the perpetration of the most cruel outrages upon the people that ever stained the annals of the human race at any period of the world. We are told by Sismondi, in his 'Comprehensive History of the Jews in England,' during the reign of Richard the First, that the crusaders, being ill-provided with funds, and having persuaded themselves that they should render good service to God by resorting to any means, however iniquitous, in order to secure the success of the Crusade to Palestine, they commenced an indiscriminate plunder of the houses of the Jews, sub-

jecting them to every species of cruelty, and even to death, until the Jews, driven to desperate resistance, and with a determination to which it would be difficult to find many parallels in history, every master of a family taking a knife, cut the throats of his wife and children, and then of the other members of his house, and then destroyed himself. The only parallel to this sublime act of self-sacrifice is furnished in the history of the Jews themselves. It is related by Millman, in his History of the Jews, that, 'after the taking of Jerusalem, some Jews fled to Masada, where they were besieged by the Romans. Finding themselves unable to withstand their attack, they, at the instance of Eleazar, their commander, destroyed themselves, their wives and children, to the number of 960, A.C. 72.'"

It is proper to add that although in some instances a few of the Jews saved themselves by professing to renounce the Jewish faith, which in reality they never did, they almost unanimously preferred death to purchasing their lives by even the semblance of such an ignominious act of apostasy. "Notwithstanding all that has been written by the fanatical Benco," says De Castro in his "History of the Jews in Spain," to please gentlemen of the Inquisition, "when I reflect upon the constancy of the Spanish Jews in not abandoning their law, in spite of the wrath of the holy office, and the courage with which they died when discovered and brought to punishment, I call to mind the words of Lopez De Aponta, who, when carried to the centre of the theatre to hear his sentence, walked with a haughty air and exclaimed: 'Welcome, the raging billows and violent whirlwinds to buffet me at thy bidding. We shall continue always more and more immovable, and far from foundering in the storm, the

greater the dangers that surround us, the more freely shall we breathe, for the Hebrew does not easily yield to wickedness and degrade himself by that weakness which follows its commission. On the contrary, in proportion to the attempts made by tyrants to debase him, does he manifest the greatness of his soul. We are sensible to pain when our bodies are tortured, but we also show by our example that no violence can compel the wise man, in violation of his honor, to recede from his opinion and fixed determination. I care not whether thou orderest me to be tortured—the driving of a nail into my head, impalest me alive, crucifiest me, roastest me by a slow fire, casteth me down from a rock, or drownest me in the depth of the sea—for in the end I shall find safety, and appear unhurt in the presence of God.' " "Multitudes who witnessed the steadfastness and courage with which these unfortunate men underwent the dreadful punishment at the 'bonfire,' " continues the same writer, "were convinced that God had animated their hearts in that bitter and critical moment, and that, inasmuch as they obtained such a blessing, as if from Heaven, there could be no doubt whatever that they died in defense of the truth."

But not only in Spain and England, but also in Germany, Austria, and Bohemia, was the Jew plundered, tortured, and murdered, and all in the name of Christianity. In Frankfort, Worms, Mayence, Prague, and Vienna their treatment was identical with that endured by their brethren in other countries. They were cooped up in a single street; had to wear a badge to denote their race; could hold no office, practice no profession; only amass riches, to be plundered and

murdered. But, as Schiller in his Tell says, so they hoped:

"A new era is near its dawn; the old, the unworthy, departs; *other days are approaching. There will live a different-thinking people.*"

There is certainly no nation under the sun whose history can be more interesting than that of the Jews, particularly that portion of them who, after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, emigrated to Spain, and for many centuries lived in that land, where—in spite of the insults, the hardships, and the persecutions which they endured—they cultivated the arts and sciences, fed the lamp of literature, and kept it continually burning for a succession of ages. It is to them that Spain owes the great advancements she made in medicine, philosophy, mathematics and navigation. They were in the habit of being consulted by kings on the most difficult and critical affairs of state, and it was by the aid of their counsels and hard cash that the most difficult, the grandest, and most hazardous enterprises were undertaken. The voyage of Columbus could never have been made, had it not been for Jewish counsel, Jewish ducats; and strange it is, that that which partly caused their misery, was to be the means of discovering a land which was to prove to their descendants and to mankind the Jerusalem of the Prophets. Irving, in his History of Columbus, states, as a curious coincidence, that the first Spanish soldier that stepped on American soil was Luis De Torres, a Jew. "But the Jews never became less Jewish for their residence in Spain," says Bartolozzo, in his "Bibliotheca Magna Rabinnica," "religion forming an essential constituent in their in-

dividual and collective existence. They combined rapidly by ties and motives unknown to every other people. They had their pride and privilege as the elected race, and although under chastisement for a time, they had an intensity of association depending upon a language and a ritual they all but adored, and an honorable attachment to each other in the time of suffering."

To show how humane and hospitable the Jews were in days when their neighbors were savages, the great and celebrated Oriental geographer Hankal describes, with great minuteness, under the application of "Mower-al-narr," the region in which these Jews were said to have been discovered. He speaks of it generally as one of the most flourishing and productive provinces within the dominion of Islam, and describes the people as distinguished for purity and virtue, as averse from evil, and fond of peace. He says: "Such is their liberality that no one turns aside from the rights of hospitality; so that a person contemplating them in the night would imagine that all the families in the land were but one household. When a traveller arrives there, every person endeavors to attract him to himself, that he may have opportunities of performing kind offices for the stranger." The Arab conquerors of Spain, having freed the Jews from the bondage and persecutions of the Gothic kings, and allowed them full liberty to live according to the Mosaic law, the latter, as stated by De Castro in the work already quoted, "laid the foundation of nurseries, synagogues, and some of the most celebrated seats of learning that ever flourished in Spain. The barbarous persecutions against the Jews in the East by

the Caliph Cadre, of the dynasty of the Fraternities, found many of them in Spain, to seek the termination of their misfortunes; and as the Hebrews who lived in the East were men of much learning, it resulted that the greater part of the new-comers to these lands began to adorn them with their writings, and to found academies, in order to diffuse among the people their own remarkable knowledge in every branch of art and science. The first, and undoubtedly the most celebrated, of these academies was established in the year of the world 4708, and of the Christian era 948, at Cordova. Its founders and first masters were Rabbi Moseh and his son Rabbi Honor, the most eminent of the sages who came from Pambedita and Medasia, in Persia. Several of the Jews of the Cordovese Academy continued to enlighten Spain with their works on every description of science. For example, those of Abraham iben Ezra, a philosopher, astronomer, physician, poet, grammarian, cabalist, the most learned of his persuasion in the interpretation of the Sacred Books, finally, the inventor of the method of dividing the celestial globe into two equal parts by means of the equator."

The *Retrospective Review,* in an able and comprehensive article on the condition of the early Jews, remarks:

"This early and afterwards diversified cultivation of literature and science raised them to a positive standing in the intelligence of Europe, so high that it has been said we have never yet repaid our debt of grateful acknowledgment to the illustrious Hebrew scholars of Cordova, Seville, and Granada."

In alluding to the "Masora," a versification of every

"jot and tittle" of the Hebrew Scriptures in a diversity of modes, for the finding of a full and exact text of the holy record, the same erudite writer says:

"This prodigious effort of patient industry, this single work, demands from the learned of every age that the Jews be considered as eminently a literary people, a character which they have not failed to uphold, ever since those early ages—early to us; but the Jews were already fathers in literature before one of the present nations of Europe had its existence. To estimate their value in this respect we must travel back by an astounding climax through the Gemara and Mishna, the Hellenic Jewish writings of Josephus, Philo, the Septuagint, the Maccabees, through the minor prophets to Nehemiah, who wrote 140 years before Xenophon, to Isaiah, 700 years before Virgil, to the Proverbs and Psalms, 1,040 years before Horace, to Ruth, 1,030 years before Theocritus, and to Moses, above 1,000 years the precursor of Herodotus."

Among the eminent Jewish writers who achieved distinction during the many centuries that the Hebrew race exercised their salutary influence over the destinies of Spain, was the famous historian Pedro Teixeira, whose book, entitled "De el Origen Descendencia," published in Antwerp in 1610, contains the best account of Persia that has ever been written. It is based on Persian manuscripts, and particularly the chronicle Terkand. (Teixeira is the only author who introduced foreign names into the Castilian language as they were written and pronounced in their own.) Another remarkable writer of the same race and period was the Portuguese Hebrew, Garcia Deostar, the first person who wrote the medical history

of the East Indies under the following title: "Colloquies on the drugs, simples, and medicinal things of India." In this work he not only gives his own observations and consulted all the Greek, Latin, and Arabic authors who have written on the subject, but in his wandering through the Indies communicated upon it with the best and most distinguished Arab, Persian, Turkish, Brahminical, Chinese, and Malay physicians. But it would fill volumes to mention even the one tithe of the array of Hebrew poets, philosophers, historians, metaphysicians, and medical composers, who flourished in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Hebrew poetry in particular was cultivated to a great extent; hymns and elegies in rhymes of that period have been preserved by Buxtorf, Plantitius, Bartolomius, and others. Malzan, Draper, Lecky, Buckle, and Scherr have elaborately shown what a debt the world owes to the Jews. During the reign of Abdallah, king of Granada, Jewish learning was pursued with unparalleled eagerness, the usual result of peace, tolerance, and competence of wealth; for, as Cowper expresses it—

> "Wisdom is a pearl with most success
> Sought in still waters and beneath clear skies."

"To such a pitch of misery," observes the Portuguese historian Camoens, "were these kingdoms reduced by the alarm of the Jews and the care taken by them to bury their treasures in the bowels of the earth that the circulation of gold and silver became very limited. The stoppage of the traffic of the Jews caused the ruin of all the commerce that formerly existed in the realms of Castile. Agriculture was insufficiently carried on, the Crown was without

resources, for the coin of the land was secreted in the coffers of the Hebrews. These evils, as before stated, originated in the rash measures, employed against all reason and justice by the monarch and people, for the conversion of the numerous Jews who dwelt in these lands; they were forbidden to practice medicine and surgery; to keep their houses open for traffic with Christians, and finally to dispose of their goods and persons in the way that was most conducive to their own interests. The Christians reaped the fruits of this barbarous policy during the reign of Henry the Fourth in Castile, for to this policy must be ascribed the abandonment of commerce by the Jews, who were the only, or at any rate the principal, persons engaged in it, and who kept it alive; and as its destruction arose from the causes I have mentioned, the ruin of agriculture followed in its rear, the kingdom being destitute of these two principal resources, while the body of state together was ultimately reduced to the greatest weakness and distress. This miserable policy was no less injurious to literature and science by the expulsion of the persecuted race from the land of their adoption, for, as the learned Hebrews from the East and other parts of the world had been mainly instrumental in advancing the cause of learning and education in Spain, by the introduction of literary and scientific institutions, so, when forcibly driven out of the kingdom by the barbarities of the Inquisition and the cruel edicts formulated at the instigation of that pernicious body, the pall of ignorance and darkness fell again over the land."

One of the most remarkable events of the twelfth century was the birth of Rabbi Moses ben Maimon,

whose writings exercise a wise and salutary influence to-day. He was the great reformer of those days, and the forerunner of the great Mendelssohn of the eighteenth and of Abraham Geiger of the nineteenth century.

"When we look around us, and calmly contemplate the present condition of the Hebrew race in those countries, where, as in the United States of America, and to a considerable extent in England and in France, the benign influences of modern civilization have been allowed full sway, and compare that ameliorated and daily improving condition with the state of social degradation which these persecuted people have had to endure for centuries, in consequence of the barbarous enactments of wicked and oppressive rulers, we feel, indeed, as if the fulfillment of the prophecy was not very far distant."

Such is the language used by M. de Balzac in his "Histoire," a work lately published in France. In a History of Jewish Physicians, translated from the French of E. Carmoly by I. R. M. Dunbar, M. D., an American physician, late professor at Baltimore, he says in his preface:

"It was believed that an acceptable service would be rendered to the readers of the journal and the profession generally by translating Carmoly's sketches of men so distinguished among God's ancient people for their medical skill and personal character. It will be seen that a debt of gratitude is due to them for having preserved with a bright and steady flame the torch of science through the gloomy period of the dark ages of the world, and there is a peculiar pleasure derived from doing an act of historical justice, long after the

dust of centuries has settled upon their memories, by giving the due meed of fame to those who toiled and died in the practice of a noble profession."

And then he goes on and gives a list of the most eminent physicians from the earliest days to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—showing conclusively that to Jewish physicians the world owes the discovery of many diseases and many of its cures, and the nobility and courage that characterized them. The evidence of the rapidly-increasing influence which the Hebrew race is exercising not only in mercantile affairs, but in the higher walks of mental activity in literature, in science, and in the councils of nations, may be found in the fact that the master spirits of Europe, who, if not Hebrews in faith, are at least of Jewish parentage, are illustrations of that wise policy which broke down the barriers of disability which had so long hindered the children of Israel from a fair participation in administering the affairs of state. It appears, however, that the spirit of intolerance is not yet quite extinct, however damaged and disabled by its contact with the liberalism of the nineteenth century, for the air is rife with rumors of Jewish persecutions in certain parts of the continent of Europe, which, to say the least, are greatly antagonistic of the enlightenment of the age. Galicia and Poland, Bessarabia, and Russia, and Roumania, are yet pursuing the policy of the Middle Ages, and Germany is by no means tolerant; and the renewal of these mediaeval prejudices has assumed such enormous proportions that the Jews have been compelled to appeal to the Governments of Europe for protection, and even the United States has ably seconded these efforts,

and one of our citizens—Hon. B. F. Peixotto—ably represented us at Bucharest, and his efforts contributed to ameliorate the condition of affairs leading to the Berlin treaty, but only for a short time. Why do the imbecile rulers of Europe not study Heine, who says:

"Judaea ever appeared to me as a piece of the Occident, lost in the Orient. Israel sat pious under her figtrees, sang the praise of their unseen God, and did works of virtue and justice, while, on the other hand, in the temples of Babel, Nineveh, Sidon, and Tyre they performed orgies of a revolting character. When we consider their surroundings, we cannot sufficiently admire the greatness of Israel.

The Greeks were only beautiful youths, but the Jews were always men—powerful, uncringing men—not only long ago, but today, in spite of eighteen hundred years of persecution.

Yes, the State may rear high its head, the heart be healthy and hopeful, but it will feel the pain of the toe when afflicted, and the circumscribing of the Jews is such an affliction from which the feet of nations suffer."

To show how great is the influence of the Jews on positive religion, how necessary they are to the civilization of the age, hear Heine again (all this, too, after baptism): "The conflict between positive religion and science is growing daily. The Jews are, as the poet has said, 'the Swiss Guard of Deity,' and instead of persecuting them, they ought to be fostered, for they at least represent a history and believe in a spiritual power. Beware of introducing baptism among the Jews; that is useless water, and dries easy. Emancipate them!" The terrible influence of prejudice; how beautifully has Boerne defined it! Boerne says:

"It is like a wonder; a thousand times I have experienced it, and yet it remains ever new. The one

upbraids me for having been a Jew, the other forgives me, the third even praises me, but all think of it. They are charmed within this magic Jewish circle, and none can escape, and I know full well where the spell comes from. The poor Germans, living in the basements, seven stories of aristocracy living over them, it gratifies them to know a more degraded people—those who live in the cellar. No, that I was born a Jew has never caused me pain. Yes, because I was born a servant, I love liberty more than you. Yes, because I experienced slavery, I appreciate and value liberty more than you. Yes, because I was born to no country, I seek one more intensely than you, and because my birthplace was no larger than the Ghetto, and foreign country commenced outside of the Jewish postern gate, is the reason that no city, no province, or State is large enough, but united Germany, free, alone is my ambition. I beg of you, do not despise my Jews; if you were like them, you would be better; if there were as many of them as of you, they would be better. You are thirty millions of Germans, and only count thirty in the world (happily changed by the great events since 1866 and 1871); give us thirty millions of Jews, and the world counts for naught.

"You have taken the air from the Jews, but that has preserved them from mildew. You have sown into their hearts the salt of hate, but that has kept them fresh. You have imprisoned them the whole long winter in cellar vaults, stopping every crevice, while you, exposed to the frost, nearly froze. When spring comes, we will see who blooms first, the Jew or Christian."

In no country, England not excepted, is Shakespeare more admired than in Germany. Hence the following criticisms on Shylock by Robert Benedix, the great author, are not out of place and I reproduce this, as only last week Shylock was portrayed in this city, not in the spirit of education, but to foster prejudice. He says:

"Let us look at this Shylock closer. Antonio calls him an usurer; the proof he fails in. Shylock takes high interest; so did all the merchants of Venice. Shylock trades in money; today we call him a banker. Why does he trade in money? Because it is the only pursuit permitted to him. He does not pursue a trade—no agricultural pursuits; no official station—only trade. If the Jews—under centuries of restriction, ostracised from social life—did cling to money and its uses, whose is the fault? No one can say anything dishonorable of Shylock. He is stingy; in no law-book of the world is that denominated as a crime. What is there against this man? Simply nothing more than that he is a Jew. But for the poet, enthroned on Olympian heights, there must only exist the *man, not the Jew.* Shylock is revengeful. Well, who instigated it? Only you who have despised him. After persecuting, deriding him, they crown their infamy by asking him to turn Christian. That is the summit of baseness. What is left to the poor Jew, whom you have trodden under foot, when you rob him of his faith? It is the bond that binds him to his fathers, to his home. It has been his solace in thousandfold persecutions. To this faith Israel clings with devoted love, and from this faith Shylock shall turn to become a Christian! No wonder he turns with abhorrence from those who torture him so cruelly. Christians they may be. Men they are not. And is there no feeling for a father? To exalt a daughter who absconds and robs him whom she should honor? Is that Jewish or Christian? The grand speech, 'Has not a Jew eyes,' etc. is the martyr exclamation of a people who for centuries had been the victims of debauched bigoted priests.

It is hard to free Shakespeare from the prejudice of his age. He has morally sinned; artistically erred. Contrast Lessing; and he wrote in an age of equal intolerance. His "Nathan the Wise" is an embodiment of morality and sublime virtues; his figures are apostles of true humanity. Nathan is an Evangelist

of true worth; and Lessing, taking for his hero a Jew, made thereby the "amende honorable" in the name of humanity."

And now for the truth of this Shylock play. Reverse the principal persons, Shylock and Antonio, and you will have the truth of the story. The plot is taken from the Italian—the Jew borrowed, and the Christian loaned. But the truckling spirit of the age falsified fact, to gratify the prejudices of the hour. Lessing, in his immortal "Nathan the Wise," crowned himself and earned eternal gratitude. How his great heart speaks when the Dervish says to Nathan:

"What, is it not foolery to oppress one's brothermen by hundreds, thousands, to waste their strength, to plunder, torture, kill them, yet wish to appear the saviour of a few? Is it not foolery to try to ape the mercy of the highest, who, impartial on evil and good, on field and waste, spreadeth himself abroad in sun and rain, yet not to have the overflowing hand of the Almighty?"

What a rebuke to the money-making Jew when the Templar said to Nathan: "To me the richest Jew was never the best." How grandly eloquent the words of Nathan to the Templar: "We neither of us, chose our people. Are we our people? What does our people mean? Is Jew or Christian rather Jew or Christian than man?" How the baleful fires of hate and bigotry glow in the language of the Patriarch when the Templar asks: "But if the child in misery had died, unless the Jew has had compassion on it?" It matters not; "the Jew goes to the stake. Better the child had died in misery here than thus be saved for everlasting ruin. Besides, why need the Jew anticipate God's providence? Without him God can save, if save he will."

Or, in other words, the Jew is incapable of a worthy act, and must at all hazards be condemned; and that reminds me of an anecdote in point:

In Wurtemburg, while a Jew was passing a house, a stone thrown by some one came flying towards him; he dodged it, and it went crashing through the window. The proprietor sued the man that threw the stone, and the wise justice decided that, had the Jew not dodged, no damage would have resulted; hence the Jew must pay. This seems laughable, but is the typical instance of thousand of similar decisions, but often resulting more disastrously to the Jewish people.

But hear Lessing again. How every barrier falls in the following utterances of the lay brother to Nathan: "You are a Christian; never was a better." And Nathan's answer touches the key-note of the chord of humanity when he says: "What makes of me a Christian in your eyes makes you in mine a Jew—happily for both." Narrowness comes from ignorance. To purify men is to educate them. How can they be educated without dealing with each according to his own nature? Education is the religion of the human race, and the less men's motives are aspersed, the more charitable we are towards each other; and the fewer laws that are enacted, the nearer we approach that standard of religion which is cosmopolitan.

No matter how much the Jew may differ from your ideas, do not forget that his home-life is a living example of his influence and progress. Healthy and powerful, pure and fresh, has ever gushed forth that fountain of Judaism, the pure family life which has kept Israel fresh and strong. It was a pillar of strength

in days of danger, it will be so in days of prosperity, for, as Balaam said, so we can ever say: "How beautiful are thy tents, Oh Jacob, thy habitations, Oh Israel." Elegantly has Gutzkow expressed it when he lets Silva say to Uriel Acosta: "Deeprooted in our people is the magic of family and home; in exile, when pursued, there was one solace in our misery, that a father, a mother loved us, that a brother called us, and that no term of years ever changes our affections." In short, the words "old man" and "old woman" are never heard in a Jewish home.

As I said in the commencement of my address, the legend of the Wandering Jew, or, as the Germans have it, "The Everlasting Jew," has added considerable fuel to the fires of fanaticism. Robert Hammerling says: "It is true what has been said, that Ahasuerus is not in my poem, as in the legend, 'The Wandering Jew,' but the eternal man. But I think with the Wandering Jew, the drama can do but little; but the immortal man it can use to a wise purpose. It is not altogether unlikely or impossible that the Jew, who belongs to a race of great longevity, will survive all other races. In other words, in the mutation of change—the permanent. Among the mortals—the immortal." It is strange that so absurd a story should have found any credence, but nothing is too unnatural for bigots. Intelligently construed, the legend is the highest tribute to the Jewish race; for he is eternal, everlasting —history proves it, and daily experience confirms it. He is a wanderer in every country, the selfsame oriental features as of old, the same habits, faith, and aspirations; nothing has shaken his fortitude, his firmness, his sublime faith in a God of love and peace.

He is truly "The Everlasting Jew," but not as a punishment for inhospitality, but as a reward for that unshaken fidelity which has characterized him. Beautifully, and no less truthfully, has Dohm, the great German writer, depicted the Jew. There was a time, and only recently, when Jews could not sit in Parliament; the agitation was intense, and at one time convulsed the whole kingdom. The best talent of the English nation was enlisted for and against them. In the Edinburgh Review appeared a masterly article, which was so thorough that it exhausted the subject. It was from the pen of the gifted Lord Macaulay. I extract a few passages to show the general scope, and which are applicable to this country, considering that we hear constantly the words "Christian Government," and read of the attempts to Christianize the Constitution of the United States. Says Macaulay:

"We hear of essentially Protestant Governments, and essentially Christian Governments—words which mean just as much as essentially Protestant cookery, or essentially Christian horsemanship. Governments exist for the purpose of keeping the peace; for the purpose of compelling us to settle our disputes by arbitration, instead of settling them by blows; for the purpose of supplying our wants by industry, instead of supplying them by rapine. If there is any class of people who are not interested, or who do not think themselves interested, in the security of property and the maintenance of order, that class ought to have no share of the powers which exist for the purpose of securing property and maintaining order. But why a man should be less fit to exercise those powers because he wears a beard, because he does not eat ham, we cannot conceive. The points of difference between Christianity and Judaism have very much to do with a man's fitness to be a Bishop or Rabbi. But they have no

more to do with his fitness to be a magistrate or legislator or a minister of finance than with his fitness to be a cobbler. Nobody has ever thought of compelling cobblers to make any declaration of the true faith of a Christian; any man would rather have his shoes mended by a heretical cobbler than by a person who had subscribed to all the thirty-nine articles, but had never handled an awl. Men act thus, not because they are indifferent to religion, but because they do not see what religion has to do with the mending of their shoes. What power in civilized society is so great as that of the creditor over the debtor? If we take this from the Jew, we take away from him the security of his property. If we leave it to him, we leave to him a power more despotic by far than that of the king and all his cabinet. * * * It would be impious to let a Jew sit in Parliament, but a Jew may make money, and money may make Members of Parliament. Sarum may be the property of a Hebrew. An elector will take ten pounds from Shylock rather than nine pounds nineteen shillings and seven pence three farthings from Antonio. To this objection is made. That a Jew should possess the substance of legislative power; that he should command eight votes on every division as if he was the great Duke of Newcastle—is exactly as it should be. But that he should pass the bar, and sit down on those mysterious cushions of green leather; that he should say 'hear' and 'order,' and talk about being on his legs and being for once free to say 'this and to say that,' would be a profanation sufficient to bring ruin on the country. That a Jew should be a privy-councillor to a Christian king, would be an eternal disgrace to the nation. But the Jew may govern the world. The minister may be in doubt as to his scheme of finance till he has been closeted with the Jew. A congress of sovereigns may be forced to summon the Jew to their assistance. The scrawl of the Jew on the back of a piece of paper may be worth more than the royal

word of three kings or the national faith of three new American republics. But that he should put Right Honorable before his name would be the most frightful of national calamities. If it is our duty as Christians to exclude the Jews from political power, it must be our duty to treat them as our ancestors treated them—to murder them, and banish them, and rob them. * * * Where wealth is, there power must inevitably be."

Beautifully expressed are his reasons for the want of patriotism of the Jew in countries where oppressed, of the senseless prejudice in countries where free:

"If the Jews have not felt towards England like children, it is because she has treated them like a stepmother. There is no feeling which more certainly develops itself in the minds of men living under tolerable good government than the feeling of patriotism. Since the beginning of the world there never was any nation, or any large portion of any nation not cruelly oppressed, which was wholly destitute of that feeling. To make it, therefore, ground of accusation against a class of men that they are not patriotic, is the most vulgar legerdemain of sophistry. It is logic which the wolf employs against the lamb. It is to accuse the mouth of the stream of poisoning the source. * * *

"But not only in monarchial England, but in the republican United States, long after equality was won at the point of the bayonet, did several of the States deny it to the Jew (and it was only a few years ago that even Switzerland accorded full equality, after boasting of its six hundred years of liberty); and what was then denied to the Jew is now attempted by a large number of respectable American citizens; that is, to abridge social, natural, and personal rights. Fanaticism is never at peace, and the greatest danger of the American Republic lies in the fostering of 'isms.'"

The prejudice that deals in invective without reason, that traduces without cause, has never been so pro-

nounced as exhibited by Mr. Moody in Philadelphia recently.

Enlisted in the cause of evangelism, claiming to be a spiritual guide, he wantonly attacks his Jewish fellow-citizens in a set harangue of over an hour, thinking, no doubt, as thousands of others have done before him, that it is mainly to attack a physical minority; that it is popular to deride the Jew, and that the victim will bow his head in submission, thankful for life.

And there is where men like Mr. Moody commit a folly; for the victim does not bow his head; he asserts his manhood, his mental majority, and tells him and others that the day has gone by when it was fashionable to abuse any class of men differing in religious sentiment; and especially is this so in this country.

The folly consists not only in the utterance, but also in those good Christian ladies and gentlemen who sat at the feet of the evangelist, and failed to rebuke him.

But it requires heroism of a superior mould for men to rise superior to the dictation of their spiritual guides; and in that very essential the Jew of modern days stands superior; he knows no priest; their religious teachers aim to instruct the reason, not to fetter it; seek to elevate the moral character of their people, not to circumscribe it. In short, the Jew believes in the universality of manhood.

I also quote from the speeches of Breckenridge and Tyson, members of the Maryland Legislature in 1818. Mr. Kennedy, of Washington county, had introduced session after session his famous Jew Bill, and it took

seven years of debate before Maryland adopted a law giving the Jew equal rights. The sentiments hold good today. The same prejudice and ignorance exist, and the demagogue has not changed his skin. It was a question of politics in 1818; it is a question of fanaticism and church supremacy in 1888.

Says Breckenridge:

"Every American who aspires to the character of liberality as well as to a proper knowledge of the spirit of our institutions, must subscribe to this proposition, as the test of the progress of his attainments, that religion is a matter between man and his God, that the temporal arm should be interposed to direct the actions of men, and not their thoughts . . . . . I would contend, in behalf of the citizen, that in requiring him to subscribe to a religious test for any purpose, his just constitutional rights are infringed and violated . . . . . A constitutional right is violated whenever the citizen is made to feel the consequence of his opinions, either by direct bodily infliction or by disqualifications . . . . .

If we look abroad, and even glance around on our own country, we shall find that the practice of persecution and the spirit of intolerance are not the inseparable attendants on Catholicism; nor does history prove that American Protestants cannot be intolerant . . . . . I proclaim it persecution when any one forcibly interrupts the free enjoyment of my opinion in matters of religion, politics, or science . . . . .

I hold my right unquestionable to differ from any other man . . . . I do firmly believe that it is an insult to the Christian religion to suppose that it needs the temporal arm for its support. But I am told this is a Christian land. No, sir; the soil we inhabit yields its fruit to the just and unjust; the sun, which gives us life, sheds his glorious beams impartially on all. But the great majority of the dwellers of this land are Christians; therefore is it a Christian land? For the

same reason it might be a Catholic, Episcopal, or Presbyterian land. Our political compacts are not entered into as brethren of the Christian faith, but as men, as members of a civilized society. In looking back to our struggle for independence, I find that we engaged in that conflict for the rights of man, and not for the purpose of enforcing or defending any particular religious creed . . . . . All persecution for the sake of opinion is tyranny." . . . . .

Says Mr. Tyson (and that speech is truth today as to the stupid bigotry with which the Jew is pursued socially and denounced publicly):

"Why has the triumph of this cause been so long delayed? Because of the ignorance of some of the people, the prejudice of others, the bigotry of one portion and the honest but mistaken zeal of another —an ignorance, prejudice, bigotry, and zeal fostered by political demagogues, who, though in heart and soul they were neither Christian, Jew, nor Turk, professed to be the humble supporters of the religion of Jesus . . . . .

The Jew has some of your advantages and yet he does no worse than you. Maybe he does better, for the faithful Jew practices Christianity without professing it. You profess it without practicing it . . . . . Their descendants, from generation to generation, for twenty centuries, have been the victims of a persecution unparalleled in the history of any other people. In every period of the world's history, in every nation under Heaven, by every sect, they have been imprisoned, tortured, and massacred, sewed up in the skins of wild beasts, and thrown to the dogs in Asia; chained to the galling car for life in Africa; burned to death in Spain; flayed in Italy; fleeced and sentenced to banishment from time to time in England; plunged into catacombs in France; knouted in Russia, or driven to perish in the wilds of Siberia. Is not this enough?" . . . . .

And Mr. Tyson might have truthfully said, and all

this was done by professing Christians, chanting the hymns and songs of Judaea's poets and singers, and under the inspiration of their Saviour, who was himself a Jew. It cannot be gainsaid that every word coined in the crucible of pure aesthetic morality is adding so much to the world's progress, and the Jews have shown intellectual capacity, genius for the higher walks of culture, love of and for music, song, science, invention, art, philosophy, poetry, journalism, commerce, banking, and even in the art of war. To a certain extent I have shown this. I will now do so more fully. Republics rest on virtue; the sobriety of the citizen, the moral poise of the father, husband, brother, son, mother, wife, daughter, and sister are the great safeguards of a free nation. Where do you find these to a greater extent than among the Jews? Has their home-life not been immortalized in song and story?

The thrift of a people is the best preventive of vice and immorality; the patient industry, the sober, daily, life, form the bulwark of a nation's greatness and perpetuity. Who possess these to a greater degree than the Jews?

Music and song are the twin sisters who have made the world purer and better, assuaged sorrow, added to our stock of enjoyment, are a solace to the enslaved, a recreation to the refined. All the opera-houses of the world would be empty, were it not for the liberal patronage of the Jew, and that is the reason Friday night is always selected for benefits. But, aside from this, they have given to the world composers, singers, and painters, classed among the first—Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Halevy, Moscheles, Offenbach, Braham,

Malibran, Strakosch, Wieniawski, Rubenstein, Joachim, Ernst, Bettelheim Magnus, Constant Mayer, Peixotto, Heilbrons, Wolfsohn, Adelaide Phillips, Toby Rosenthal, and Mosler. The stage, as is now generally conceded by liberal minds, is a school doing as much to elevate the character of man as the church. What actors greater than Talma, Rachel, Davison, Bandman, Fechter, Bernhardt?

Statesmen, lawyers, politicians are the triumvirate of a State's active life; the one forms, the other guides, and the last interprets, public opinion. No country can prosper without them; they are the controlling influence of a nation's greatness. And in this category we count the stars of the first order—Fould, Cremieux, Disraeli, Montefiore, Jules Simon, Goldsmith, Jessel, Lasker, Luzzati, Jacoby, Benjamin, Phillips, Noah, Dr. Friedenthal, Simpson, Meisel, Riesser, Artom, Bamberger and Lassalle.

Authors delight and instruct mankind; and when they are imbued with liberal ideas, they add vastly to the happiness and welfare of humanity. The Jews are not meanly represented among the modern. Auerbach, Mosenthal, Lemon, Mendelssohn, Heine, Boerne, Disraeli, LeFarjeon, Leeser, Aguilar, Spinoza, Geiger, Emma Lazarus, Graetz, Raphall, Riesser, Creutznach, Phillips, Saphir, Herzfeld, Heilprin, Rev. Dr. I. M. Wise, Rev. Dr. B. Szold, Munk; Kalish, the humorist; Abarbanel, Goldsmith, Emanuel Deutsch; Kuh, the mathematician; Wietzenhausen, Stern, Beer; Slonimski, the physiologist; Oppert; Valentine, anatomist; Hirshfeld; Bien, the lithographer; Berliner, the inventor. Commerce and finance are the two great motive powers of the world's prosperity. Without

them, the wheels of state would stand still; without them, we would sink back into barbarism. They keep us active and energetic, and add not only to a nation's strength and greatness, but also give scope to the fertile brain of the individual. And well has it been said that this power at least has been in the hands of the Jew; for while it has been one of the principal causes of their oppression, it at the same time has been one of the best, if not the best, weapons of defense. The Jews first made use of letters of credit. We all know that the first bankers of the world—Rothschilds—are Jews; we know they control not only the money market, but also the political destiny of the European world; and one thing can be truthfully said—they never mix their religion with other people's money. Even our loans were taken principally by Jews; but mercantile enterprises owe a vast debt to the Jew. You need but look at the streets of the principal cities of the world on Jewish holidays, and you will at once see that trade is in mourning; the busy hum is hushed; everything is languid; the active brain, the quick, nervous decision, the daring, yet cautious, speculator is absent. Look at Spain and Ireland, and then at England, France, Germany and the United States; and yet this very activity is made a weapon of attack.

The Jewish merchant and banker is an honor to humanity; and while here and there are found a few who are not what they ought to be, yet on the whole they are high-toned, enterprising, intelligent, and eminently trustworthy.

The temperate character of the Jew in every relation of life is beyond compare. For them no excise or re-

strictive laws are necessary. A drunken, intemperate Jew is almost impossible; they have too much love and respect, not only for their home-circle, but also for their name and character. Their forefathers looked upon dissipation with abhorrence; the sons have not degenerated; *and with them it is training, not restraining.* The sanitary and hygienic laws of the Jews are today the best ever framed, and the regulations for the health of the soldiers in camp and on the march have their origin in the laws of Moses. The statistics of every city show that in great epidemics the ratio of death between the Jew and others is as two to eight. Jewish-killed meats are sought after and purchased by many Christians, as they are conducive to health. And does not good digestion form an important element in a nation's welfare? Need I speak of their charity? That has become proverbial. Their poor are not outdoors, their orphans not outcasts, their widows not dissolute, their old men not scoffed at. Among themselves they differ as to forms, but in charity and benevolence they are united. No one is turned away. With them, to give is to serve the Lord. I have often been asked why are you Jews so restrictive in not intermarrying with Christians? I answer, it would produce unhappiness, misery, if not crime. There can be no perfect home unless both parents have the same faith; the offspring must see the fruits of peace, not of strife; there must be a unity of thought, not a division of the Heaven aspired to. Imagine a home happy where the father goes to one, the mother to another, church. Two-thirds of our American divorces owe their origin to religious differences and the want of true home, heart educa-

tion and the power of priesthood over the women of this land. There was a time in Berlin and Vienna when the whole literary and artistic world of Europe could be found in the parlors of Henrietta Herz, Rahel Levin, and Baroness Von Arnstein, the greatest statesmen recreating their weary brain. Discussion upon every theme chased the hours away. Dynasties were formed and destroyed; one philosophy created, another criticised to death. "Circle of Virtue," as they called themselves, became the central power around which everything else had to revolve; they were a power for good and evil; and overlooking all were these daughters of Israel, who by a smile, nod or wink controlled empires. To their own race they were aliens; they were not proud of their birth; it was an era of intolerance. Fashion opened its doors only to the hypocrite. Science and art championed the baptizer and ostracised the faithful; the ambitious, intellectual Jews, like Heine, Boerne, Disraeli, and others had to embrace sectarianism, so as to walk the avenues of literature as equals; and yet, as I have shown, in all their writings and acts they were like the painted leopard—the spots could not be washed away.

How grand, noble, and sublime in comparison stand the gifted Grace Aguilar and Emma Lazarus. Their works have not only championed Judaism in its better style, but they also command, by their simplicity of style, the purity of their diction, and their high moral tone, the respect and esteem of mankind. Such women do more to advance the world's progress, to instruct and educate, than a million Rahel Levins. The one is eternal in her works, the other only remembered as a brilliant, fashionable dreamer.

The Press of Europe is mostly controlled by Jews; the leading editors are Jews. The different universities of Europe contain dozens of professors in every walk of science who are devout believers in Judaism, and the leading newspaper in the United States is owned by a Jew.

The revolutionary feeling in Europe owed its life and stimulus to Jews; the German Government called every patriot a Jew; and the liberal ideas slowly dawning in Europe are mainly due to Jewish brains and money. They are a liberty-loving people, and yet they cling to the country of their adoption, be that despotic or free, they pray for Emperor and President, believe in law and order, and ever counsel peace. In answer to the charge of clannishness among the Jews and their want of patriotism, Macaulay says:

"The English Jews are, as far as we can see, precisely what our Government has made them. They are precisely what any sect, what any class of men, treated as they have been treated, would have been. If all the red-haired people in Europe had during centuries been outraged and oppressed, banished from this place, imprisoned in that, deprived of their money, deprived of their teeth, convicted of the most improbable crimes on the feeblest evidence, dragged at horses' tails, hanged, tortured, burned alive; if, when manners became milder, they had still been subject to debasing restrictions and exposed to vulgar insults, locked up in particular streets in some countries, pelted and ducked by the rabble in others, excluded everywhere, from magistracies and honors,—what would be the patriotism of gentlemen with red hair?

"And if under such circumstances a proposition were made for admitting red-haired men to office, how striking a speech might an eloquent admirer of our

old institutions deliver against so revolutionary a measure? 'These men' he might say, 'scarcely consider themselves as Englishmen. They think a red-haired Frenchman or a red-haired German more closely connected with them than a man with brown hair born in their own parish.'" . . . . .

To the charge of usury and sharp-dealing he answers thus:

"A Christian is commanded, under the strongest sanctions, to be just in all his dealings; yet to how many of the twenty-four millions of professing Christians in these islands would any man in his senses lend a thousand pounds without security? A man who should act, for one day, on the supposition that all the people about him were influenced by the religion which they professed, would find himself ruined before night, and no man ever does act on that supposition in the ordinary concerns of life—in borrowing, lending, in buying, or in selling. But when any of our fellow-creatures are to be oppressed, the case is different. Then we represent those motives which we know to be as feeble for good as omnipotent for evil. Then we lay to the charge of our victims all the vices and follies to which their doctrines, however remotely, seem to tend."

But you will say that is all very true of the past, of Europe, but here in this country, where there are no restrictions now, where every avenue to wealth and position is open to you, how is it that you are so clannish? Why are the majority merchants and bankers? How is it that you are so loud at bathing-places—so fond of display?

I can only answer that this country is yet in its infancy; that the most of the Jews resident here were born in Europe; that they have the customs and habits of home—a home which was a prison-house. The sons and daughters, however, born here, are in the highest

and best sense Americans; that they are carving honorable names in every path of industry, the arts and science. The evidence of the rising importance of the Hebrew race in all that regards mental cultivation and usefulness in public affairs is still stronger and more widely diffused in this country, not only through the contributions of Hebrew scholars who adorn American literature; not only is the voice of Hebrew statesmen heard in our legislative halls, but some of the most important questions of the day, affecting the welfare and prosperity of the American nation, have found their solution in the genius and ingenuity of Hebrews. Not only the philanthropic Judah Touro, Jacob H. Schiff, Jesse Seligman and Michael Reese, who gave to all creeds alike, are American Jews, but who can have forgotten the large-hearted jurist and statesman, M. M. Noah, that particular star which shone with such resplendent light in the Israelitish firmament, and whose stupendous schemes for the gathering together of the children of Israel upon this continent partook of the character of inspiration. When the great Whig party of the United States was in the ascendancy, and its great apostles, Webster and Clay, in the full enjoyment of their popularity and influence, who exercised a more absolute control over the destinies of that party than that paragon of earthly benevolence, the ever genial and universally-esteemed Major Noah; and no wonder he was a Whig, for the letters W. H. I. G. mean "We hope in God."*

*When he was running for Sheriff of New York his opponents said: "Think of it—if a Jew should hang a Christian!" Noah said: "A nice Christian that has to be hung."

His faith in the fulfillment of the prophecy considering the future destiny of the Jewish race was firm and not to be shaken. It is on record that he once stated in public that "the past history and the present condition of the Jewish people bear witness to the divine inspiration of the Scriptures and to the immediate personal agency of God." We are forgetting every shame and obloquy of the past, and have, aside from a firm belief in one Supreme Being, no higher ambition than to be useful, enterprising, active, intelligent patriotic citizens. The Jew is becoming a property-holder in every city of the country. Diamonds and precious stones as a commodity, as a source of wealth when fleeing from danger, have no longer any charm—the erection and beautifying of homes, the building of marble palaces and stores their aim and object. Their synagogues, temples, hospitals, orphan asylums, and homes for the aged are not only models of architecture, but ample proof of the munificence of the Jew. They are prosperous because they are thrifty; they economize because waste is sinful; they cling together because in unity lies strength. The mystic chord that binds them together is centuries of torture and misfortune. The blood of kings, princes, and prophets flows as pure today as in the days of David and Solomon in the veins of the Jew. They might be a proud people; they are only ambitious to be just and prosperous.

I concede that many Jews are loud, vain, fond of display, but they are only the excrescence incident to sudden wealth, based on the freaks of fortune, not on education. Shoddy has no nationality, and is despicable in whomsoever and wheresoever found. There

is a lack of judgment when persons intrude by virtue of their wealth. Money can purchase commodities of life, never good breeding; a gentleman and lady are born, and by education refined, and that is not restricted to any sect.

And while I concede this fully, do not lay it at the doors of Judaism; do not use the word Jew as signifying vulgarity, rudeness, and fraud, but speak of them as you do of your own household when any one has fallen by the wayside. Time and again the charge of cowardice has been alleged against us. That we possess moral courage in its highest sense, I have shown by Christian writers. That we are physically brave (not reckless, brutal, and bloodthirsty), can be as easily shown. Our history proves it. Spanish generals, the Maccabees, the marshals of Napoleon—Soult, Ney, Massena—were Jews. In all modern wars, in our own recent contest, there were a large number of Jewish officers and privates, and where we are free to act we are never recreant to the call of country. We have fled from conscription in Europe, and who would not do the same?

One of the most interesting objects in a broker's office, near Wall Street, is a small frame conspicuously hung, containing a square of paper discolored by time and exposure. It has historic and mercantile interest, as being one of the first bills of exchange ever drawn in this country, and reveals the straits to which the Revolutionary officials were put for a purchasing medium. It is as follows:

"Philadelphia, 17th March, 1782.

Exchange for 12,000 cwt. of Inspected James River Tobacco.

On or before the 10th day of April next pay this my first of Exchange (second and third not paid) to Mr. Jacob Cohen

and Co., or order, Twelve Thousand Gross cwt. of good and inspected James River Tobacco, for value received of

Your humble serv't,

"Haym Salomon.

"Edmund Randolph, Esq.
Richmond, Va.
Accepted.
Edmund Randolph."

Eugene J. Jackson, the possessor of the bill and the grandson of Haym Salomon, the drawer, thus recites the history: At the time the bill was drawn the Americans were receiving valuable but secret assistance from the French Government. In order to carry out operations successfully, it was essential that the French and American Governments should be represented by private agents, who should ostensibly transact this business for themselves.

Beaumarchais, author of the "Marriage of Figaro," was the representative in France, and Haym Salomon, then an eminent banker in Philadelphia, the agent in this country. Their operations were varied, but consisted largely in evading the vigilance of the British, and in smuggling through to the American lines large quantities of the munitions of war. The bill above noted was drawn up for the purpose of paying for those goods. The Edmund Randolph referred to was the famous Governor of Virginia, showing how active we were to aid Government in its straits.

This is our home, our Palestine; we have no other ambition than to prosper in this land of our adoption, to whose growth—material, social and intellectual—we have contributed our share. The Revolution saw our race its warmest advocates, and it was Jewish money then, as it is Jewish money now, that gave the sinews of war. Were Robert Morris alive, he could tell you

how the Haym Salomons, Cohens, Phillipses, and Gratzes of those days aided and strengthened him. No! Jerusalem is an honorable past; it is the cradle of religion; it is no hope for the future, not the place from which will spring a new, active life. A celebrated diplomat said once, after an eventful, changing, life, when asked to take service again, "My head is too full of tradition; I cannot do justice to the present." The same is true of the cities of the past which once served high, noble purposes, but which have sunk into decay. Hellenism no longer exists where born. Athens will not again be the centre of culture. Rome shines yet from the reflex of its grand churches and sculpture, but only as in the Middle Ages; therefore, it will never be the healthy capital of a new dynasty. The same is true of Jerusalem. Honor we its past, but we no longer hope that from thence is to flow new life. We do not want to live in a city of special chosen grace; we want to live in a city of active, human industry under divine favor, where we can work and watch. We do not wish to wander among relics of the past, even if they are honorable, but build anew for the glorious, fraternal future. Honor to Jerusalem and its memories, as to any of our great dead, but we have no desire to disturb its repose.

And now in conclusion let me say:

In a republic, all are needful to the common weal, particularly those citizens who practice charity, perform benevolence, educate their children, lead a sober, industrious life, are moral and patriotic in their conduct, and do not fill the journals with domestic and church scandal. The Jew has faults so far as he is human, but his greatness of character, his virtues, his

incisive talents should command universal respect. Pity the first, but honor the last, for then we can with Schiller say:

The freest mother's children free,
With steadfast countenance rise
To highest beauty's radiancy,
And every other crown despise.

High over your own course of time
Exalt yourselves with pinions bold,
And let your glass sublime
The coming century enfold.

Into one stream of light thus flow
One bond of truth that ne'er decays!

THE AMERICAN JEW AS SOLDIER AND PATRIOT*

FOR some years I have been engaged in the collection of materials for the preparation of a work principally designed to show what part was taken by American Jews during the Civil War. This work is now approaching completion, and it affords me great satisfaction to be able to lay some of the results attained before this society.

Whether the task would have been undertaken had I foreseen its almost insurmountable difficulties I am not prepared to say, for the farther the work advanced, the more numerous were the obstacles.

From some States I am grieved to say I was not able to get any information; from others, so little as to be really painful on account of its being so insignificant and so far below the undoubted facts. From some States the information, if not quite up to the mark, is rather gratifying. My sincere thanks are due to my friends in the Southern States for full and complete reports received.

Virginia furnished 113 Jewish soldiers, of whom 15 were wounded, 12 were killed, and 2 captured, a total loss of over 25 per cent.

The list of North Carolina gives 52 men, of whom 7 were wounded and killed, 8 captured, 2 died from wounds at Elmira, N. Y., making a total loss of 33 per cent.

*From Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, No. 3, page 21 et seq. (1895).

South Carolina furnished 117 soldiers, of whom 20 were wounded, 29 killed and 5 captured, suffering a loss of over 33 per cent.

Tennessee furnished 38 men, of whom 3 were wounded, 7 killed and 2 died in captivity, a loss of almost 32 per cent.

I have at this date 7,243 men on my list; but over 1,600 names cannot be properly classified as to State, regiment, and period of service.

On the 12th day of July, 1862, President Lincoln gave his approval to an Act of Congress authorizing the President to cause to be prepared 2,000 "medals of honor," to be presented to such non-commissioned officers and privates as shall most distinguish themselves by their gallantry in action and other soldier-like qualities during the present insurrection.

I am not prepared to say how many soldiers of the Jewish faith were honored by such medals, but I can mention seven who have come under my notice.

First, Leopold Karpeles, color-sergeant of the 57th Massachusetts Infantry, at the battle of North Anna proved his ability to defend the flag under a terrific fire from the enemy. Although seriously wounded he held the colors aloft until weakness from loss of blood forced him to give them to a comrade. Sergeant Karpeles has high testimonials from his superior officers for bravery, daring and discipline, and is at present a clerk in the General Post-office Department.

Second, Benjamin B. Levy enlisted at the age of 16 as a drummer-boy in the 1st New York Volunteers. While his regiment was stationed at Newport News he was detailed as orderly for General

Mansfield. While he was carrying dispatches on board the steamer "Express" to General Wool at Fortress Monroe the steamboat was attacked by the Confederate gunboat "Seabird"; the steamboat with all on board was in imminent danger of capture, when young Levy saved the steamer by cutting loose a water-schooner they had in tow. For his prompt action Levy was highly complimented by Generals Mansfield and Wool. At Charles City Cross Roads he saved two of the colors of his regiment from capture, for which act he was promoted on the field by General Kearney to color-sergeant of his regiment. At the expiration of his term he re-enlisted in the 40th New York (Mozart) regiment and was seriously wounded at the battle of the Wilderness. He was appointed by President Lincoln to the New York Custom House.

Third, Sergeant-major and Adjutant Abraham Cohn enlisted as private in the 6th New Hampshire Infantry. For distinguished services he was promoted step by step to the post of Adjutant. He served until the close of the war.

Adjutant Cohn received the medal of honor from the Assistant Adjutant General's office, and he was subsequently the recipient of the following highly gratifying communication:

"ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, WASHINGTON,
August 14, 1879.

The medal mentioned within was given for conspicuous gallantry displayed in the battle of the Wilderness, in rallying and forming, under heavy fire, disorganized troops; also for bravery and coolness in carrying orders to the advance lines under murderous fire in the battle of the Mine, July 30, 1864.

(*Signed*) S. N. Benjamin,
Assistant Adjutant General."

Adjutant Cohn has the most gratifying testimonials from his superior officers. Before enlisting in the 6th New Hampshire he had served in the 68th New York as private and rose gradually to be Captain. Owing to sickness he was honorably discharged, being then, in the opinion of the surgeons, unfit for further duty. Notwithstanding his discharge as Captain, when again strong and able he enlisted as private in the 6th New Hampshire and rose to the post of Adjutant.

Fourth, David Orbanski, of the 58th Ohio Infantry, received the medal of honor for distinguished bravery and coolness under heavy fire at Shiloh, Tenn., and at Vicksburg, Miss.

Fifth, Henry Heller, of Company A, 66th Ohio Infantry, earned the medal of honor for daring bravery at Chancellorsville.

Sixth, Abraham Grunwalt, of Company G, 104th Ohio Infantry, earned his medal of honor at Franklin, Tenn., Nov. 30, 1864, in the capture of corps headquarters' flag.

Seventh, Corporal Isaac Gans, of the 2d Ohio Cavalry, for bravery displayed on the battlefield was appointed escort to a stand of colors captured by the Third Division.

One of the most gratifying facts developed in our Civil War is the spontaneous and cheerful manner with which our citizens of Hebrew faith entered their country's service in the hour of its need. In many families all the male members able to bear arms were enrolled into the army. My list of these may not be complete, but I am able to give the names of the following families which furnished three or more men to either army:

Three brothers from Arkansas: Peter Cohen, Jack Cohen and Pool Cohen.

Six brothers from North Carolina: Aaron Cohen, Jacob H. Cohen, Julius Cohen, Edward Cohen, Gustavus A. Cohen, Henry M. Cohen.

Three brothers from Pennsylvania: Lion L. Emanuel, Louis M. Emanuel, Jonathan Emanuel.

Three brothers from New York: Abraham Feder, Henry Feder, Adolph Feder.

Three brothers from Georgia and South Carolina: Isaac A. Goldsmith, A. A. Goldsmith, M. M. Goldsmith.

Three brothers from Mississippi: Charles H. Jonas, Julian Jonas, S. A. Jonas.

Three brothers from Ohio: Herman Koch, Moses Koch, Joseph Koch.

Three brothers from Virginia: Leopold Levy, Solomon Levy, Sampson Levy.

A father and three sons from New York: Simon Levy, Albert Levy, Ferdinand Levy, Benjamin C. Levy.

Three brothers from Louisiana: Eugene H. Levy, Julius H. Levy, Joseph C. Levy.

Five brothers from South Carolina: Percy Moses, Jr., Joshua L. Moses, Horace Moses, J. Harby Moses, A. Jackson Moses.

A father and three sons from Georgia: Raphael I. Moses, Raphael I. Moses, Jr., Israel N. Moses, A. L. Moses.

Three brothers from Alabama: Mordecai Moses, Henry C. Moses, Alfred Moses.

Five brothers from New York: Leopold Wenk, August Wenk, Joseph Wenk, Aaron Wenk.

51 soldiers from 14 families.

During the progress of the Civil War our government sent part of the Confederate prisoners to Elmira, N. Y., until exchanged. There can be no doubt that there were a great many Hebrews among them, for the following names of twenty-five Confederate

soldiers of the Hebrew faith occur who sleep their last sleep in the Woodlawn Cemetery at Elmira:

L. Daniels, Company B, 15th South Carolina Cavalry.

Joel Cook, Company K, 63d Tennessee Infantry.

Levi Southan, Company A, 28th North Carolina Infantry.

Edward Harris, Company G, 36th North Carolina Infantry.

James P. Altman, Company A, 21st South Carolina Infantry.

Sergeant J. Sellers, Company G, 36th North Carolina Infantry.

Elisha Harris, Company C, Cobb's Legion.

Henry Goodman, Company G, 26th North Carolina Infantry.

W. Morris, Company C, Georgia Battery.

D. Wolf, Company G, 25th South Carolina Infantry.

I. M. Pinner, Company E, 3d North Carolina Infantry.

Benjamin Davis, Company B, 6th Virginia Infantry.

Jesse Simons, Company C, 20th North Carolina Infantry.

I. Israel, Company D, 60th Alabama Infantry.

Daniel Jonas, Company D, 1st North Carolina Infantry.

Benjamin Bass, Company H, 45th North Carolina Infantry.

Joseph Harrison, Company A, 1st Alabama Infantry.

Nathan Altman, Company G, 40th North Carolina Infantry.

Henry Daniel, Company F, 10th North Carolina Infantry.

Jacob Eberhart, Company G, 7th Georgia Cavalry.

J. Israel, Company E, 51st North Carolina Infantry.

Moses Simmons, Company G, 20th North Carolina Infantry.

Joseph Newman, Company K, 20th Virginia Infantry.

David Lewis, Company C, 22d North Carolina Infantry.
M. Daniel, Company A, 1st Florida Infantry.
The following Jewish soldiers are interred at the Jewish burying-ground in Richmond, Virginia:
Henry Adler, 14th Virginia Infantry.
Jacob A. Cohen, 15th Louisiana Infantry.
Benjamin Davis, 6th Virginia Infantry.
Corporal Gus. Eiseman, 12th Mississippi Infantry.
F. Folz, 16th Mississippi Infantry.
Gustavus Kann, 16th Mississippi Infantry.
Lieutenant L. S. Lippman, 5th Louisiana Infantry.
Moses Levy, 16th Mississippi Infantry.
Captain M. Marcus, 15th Georgia Infantry.
Aaron Meyer, 1st North Carolina Infantry.
S. Oury, 16th Mississippi Infantry.
A. Robinson, 15th Georgia Infantry.
Jonathan Scheuer, Donaldson Artillery, Louisiana.
Lieutenant Isaac Seldner, 6th Virginia Infantry.
B. Wolfe, 1st North Carolina Infantry.
Lieutenant W. M. Wolfe, 25th Virginia Infantry.
Julius Zark, 7th Louisiana Infantry.

I will now give brief biographies of a few of the Jewish officers of the Civil War.

Brigadier General Edward S. Solomon joined the 24th Illinois Infantry as second lieutenant, participating in the battles of Frederickton and Mumfordsville, Ky. His gallantry in action and general proficiency in tactics were the cause of successive promotions, till, in 1862, Lieutenant Solomon was gazetted major of the regiment. Owing to disagreement among the officers of the command of Colonel Hecker, Major Solomon and other officers resigned and organized another regiment under the official designation of the 82d Illinois infantry, of which Major Solomon ultimately became colonel. As a member of the 11th

Army Corps under General Howard, he participated in the campaign of which the actions at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg were salient features. He also took part in the battles around Chattanooga, Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge: in fact, he fought throughout all the campaign in the Southwest, and was ultimately brevetted to the rank of Brigadier General.

President Grant appointed General Solomon to the Governorship of Washington Territory, which position he held for four years, to the satisfaction of the citizens and to the increased industrial prosperity of the Northwest.

The following are some testimonials from superior officers:

"HEADQUARTERS 3d DIVISION
Aug. 20, 1863.

Major General Howard, Commanding 11th Corps.

General:—On the part taken by my division in the actions of July 2d and 3d at Gettysburg I have the honor to submit the following report:

One of the five regiments of the 1st Brigade, the 74th Pennsylvania, was left with General Ames to strengthen his right wing; the remaining four were directed towards a strip of wood on the right of the division in which the firing had become heavy, and where, according to some staff officers of the First Corps, immediate aid was needed. Two regiments, the 157th New York and the 61st Ohio, were guided by one of their officers, while the other two, the 82d Illinois and the 45th New York, were led by my Chief of Staff, Lieutenant Colonel Otto, of the 50th New York.

It had meanwhile become quite dark, the direction of the fight being indicated by nothing but the sound of musketry. The regiments had entered the woods with the greatest determination and drove the enemy from our rifle pits.

It is my pleasant duty to mention as especially deserving the names of Lieutenant Colonel Otto, who superintended this operation with great judgment and courage, and Lieutenant Colonel Solomon, of the 82d Illinois, who displayed the highest order of coolness and determination under very trying circumstances.

I am, General, very respectfully yours,

(*Signed*) C. Schurz, *Maj. Gen. Commanding Division.*"

"HEADQUARTERS 3d BRIGADE, 1st DIVISION,
20th ARMY CORPS.

Near Kenesaw Mountain, Ga., June 26th, 1864.

Allen Fuller, Adjutant General, State of Illinois.

Sir:—I have the honor to respectfully request that you issue a colonel's commission to Lieut. Colonel Edward S. Solomon, commanding the 82d Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, belonging to this brigade. I take pleasure in saying that it is my sincere belief that Lieutenant Colonel Solomon fully deserves this favor, not only by his inherent ability and merit as an officer, but more particularly by the gallantry and efficiency he has displayed during this campaign. The regiment he commands is his best recommendation, it being soldierly, gallant, and thoroughly disciplined. It will be accepted as a personal favor if you will make special effort to obtain the approval of Lieutenant Colonel Solomon's commission as colonel, and his muster as such by the War Department.

Respectfully your obdt. servant,

J. T. Robinson, *Colonel Commanding,*
3d Brigade, 1st Division, Twentieth Army Corps."

"HEADQUARTERS 1st DIVISION, TWENTIETH
ARMY CORPS.

June 25th, 1864.

Respectfully forwarded, heartily concurring in the within recommendation.

(*Signed*) A. S. Williams,
Brig. Gen. Commanding Division."

"HEADQUARTERS 20th CORPS

June 28th, 1864.

Respectfully forwarded. I fully concur in the within recommendation. Lieut. Colonel Solomon has won the good opinion of all his comrades by his great gallantry and good conduct, and it will be but a just and grateful appreciation of his services to confer the preferment upon him.

(*Signed*) Joseph Hooker, *Major General Commanding."*

"HEADQUARTERS 3rd BRIGADE, 1st DIVISION
20th ARMY CORPS

Goldsboro, N. C., April 2, 1865.

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

Sir:—I have the honor to recommend and earnestly request the appointment of Colonel Edward S. Solomon, of the 82d Regiment Illinois Volunteers, as Brevet Brigadier General, for gallant and meritorious services.

Colonel Solomon joined this brigade with his regiment at the opening of the campaign against Atlanta in the spring of

1864. During the fighting before Resaca, Ga., on the 14th and 15th of May, this regiment behaved with great gallantry.

Again at New Hope, Ga., on the 25th of the same month, Colonel Solomon led his command with admirable coolness and courage against the enemy; after having advanced under a severe fire of musketry and artillery more than a mile, he held his line close to the entrenched position of the enemy, without a breastwork, and with a scanty supply of ammunition.

At the battle near Peach Tree Creek before Atlanta, Ga., on the 20th of July, 1864, Colonel Solomon performed a most gallant and meritorious part in repulsing the repeated onslaughts made by the enemy. In the face of a furious raking fire he held his line for four hours, when the enemy withdrew from his front with great loss.

During the siege of Atlanta Colonel Solomon was ever prominent for his energy, coolness and judgment.

In the fight near Averysboro, North Carolina, on the 16th of March, 1865, Col. Solomon, as usual, led his regiment into action with great gallantry and skill.

At the battle near Bentonville, on the 19th of March, 1865, Col. Solomon and his command drew the unqualified admiration of all who witnessed their coolness and discipline under fire, and their effectual service in repulsing several determined attacks of the enemy.

Colonel Solomon has distinguished himself in other engagements besides those which have been mentioned. At Gettysburg and Missionary Ridge his gallantry was conspicuous and challenged the highest admiration.

I consider Col. Solomon one of the most deserving officers. His regiment is his highest praise. In point of drill and discipline it is second to none in this corps. Its record will bear safe comparison with any other of the same age in the army.

Colonel Solomon has had a commission as Colonel since April, 1864, but his regiment not containing the requisite number of men, he has been unable to get mustered.

Earnestly hoping that his claims will meet your favorable attention, I remain, Sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(*Signed*) J. S. Robinson,

Brig. General U. S. A., Commanding 3d Brigade, 1st Division 20th Army Corps."

"HEADQUARTERS TWENTIETH CORPS,

Goldsboro, April 2, 1865.

I cordially concur in the recommendation of General Robinson. The officer (Col. Solomon) has just merits. He is intelligent, gallant, brave and faithful. I have had several occa-

sions to mark his distinguished merit. There can be no promotion more deserved.

A. S. Williams,
Brevet Maj. Gen. Commanding."

"War Department, Washington, June 15, 1865.

Sir:—You are hereby informed that the President of the United States has appointed you for distinguished gallantry and meritorious service during the war a Brigadier General of Volunteers by Brevet, in the service of the United States, to rank as such from the 13th day of March, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five. Should the Senate at their next session advise and consent thereto, you will be commissioned accordingly.

(*Signed*) Edwin M. Stanton,
Secretary of War.

To Brev. Brig. Gen. Edward S. Solomon, U. S. Vols."

What was thought of General Solomon and his administration as Governor by the people of Washington Territory is best explained by quoting the following article from the Pacific Tribune, published at the time he resigned his office of Governor:

"Resignation of Governor Solomon.—The acceptance of Governor Solomon's resignation by the President is universally regretted. He was honest, fearless and capable. He mingled freely with the people, identified himself with their interests and generously expended his time and means to bring hither population and to promote our material interests. He has established a reputation in the office which will make his administration a source of pride to his fellow-citizens, and he carries into his retirement the consolation that the good and true of all parties regard it fortunate that he should have been called to preside over our destinies. We speak the sentiment of our people when we express unfeigned regret that he felt it his duty to resign this office. His official acts are his best rewards. They have all met with the heartiest commendation of our people."

"A thorough and consistent American, baptized in the fire of battle when gallantly sustaining the flag, he

has always been true and steadfast to the principles of the Union, of which he is so distinguished a member. While ever ready with purse, pen or tongue to maintain his principles, he was singularly free from partisan bigotry in the exercise of official functions. He governed the Territory. Party behests never made him swerve from official integrity or duty to the whole people. How proudly can he look to this episode of his life! He governed well. He satisfied all, for the welfare of the whole was constantly in his eye; he was true to the position he so happily filled.

"But his successor is soon to come among us. We are ready to accord to the new Executive a cordial welcome. We can wish him, however, no higher or better aspiration than that he may prove worthy to be the successor of one who so faithfully and well performed all his duties as Edward S. Solomon."

General Carl Schurz, speaking to the writer of Solomon, said, "He was the only soldier at Gettysburg who did not dodge when Lee's guns thundered; he stood up, smoked his cigar and faced the cannon balls with the sang froid of a Saladin."

Colonel Marcus M. Spiegel enlisted in the 67th Ohio Infantry; was soon promoted to 2d Lieutenant, Captain, Lieutenant Colonel, and for bravery manifested on the battlefield was appointed Colonel of the 120th Ohio Infantry. This brave officer was wounded at Jackson, Miss., and killed at the head of his regiment at Snaggy Point on the Red River. But for his untimely death Colonel Spiegel would have been promoted to Brigadier General, for which position he had been recommended by his superior officers. Colonel Spiegel was the son of a well known Rabbi of Oppenheim on the Rhine.

Captain Joseph B. Greenhut enlisted as a private at Chicago, April, 1861, in the 12th Illinois Infantry, be-

ing the second man on the enrollment list of those who enlisted at Chicago for the war. He was promoted to sergeant, August, 1861; was with the 12th Illinois through all the campaigns under General Grant in Kentucky and Tennessee up to and including the battle of Fort Donelson, in which battle, while storming and just before the surrender of the fort, he was seriously wounded; this necessitated his retirement from the regiment shortly thereafter. When restored to health he was appointed Captain of Company K, 82d Illinois Infantry, in which regiment he passed through the various campaigns in Virginia, under Generals Burnside, Hooker and Meade, participating at the memorable battle of Gettysburg, July 1, 2 and 3, 1863; he was transferred to the staff of Brigade Commander Hecker, as Adjutant General of the brigade.

When Captain Greenhut retired from the brigade, Colonel McGroarty issued the following general order:

"HEADQUARTERS 3d BRIGADE, 3d DIVISION
11th Corps, Whitesides, Tenn., February 28th, 1864.
General Order No. 9.

Captain Joseph B. Greenhut, of the 82d Regiment, Illinois Volunteers, having tendered his resignation, is, in pursuance of special order No. 55, Headquarters Department of the Cumberland, Feb. 24, 1864, relieved from duty as Assistant Adjutant General of this brigade and Lieutenant Rudolph Muller is announced as his successor. In parting with Captain Greenhut, the Colonel commanding feels it both a duty and a pleasure to bear testimony to his diligence, zeal and fidelity in the performance of his duty in the office as well as in the field, and he regrets to see so excellent and brave an officer as Captain Greenhut leave his command.

Matters of important character only could induce Captain Greenhut to leave the army in which he served three years, taking active part in all the most decisive battles East and West.

To be read on dress parade to troops today.
By order of Colonel McGroarty,
Commanding Brigade and Post.
RUDOLPH MULLER, *Lieut., and A. A. A. General.*"

Captain Greenhut is now an honored citizen of Peoria, Illinois.

General David De Leon was born in South Carolina in 1822. He was the first Surgeon General of the Confederate army. In the Mexican War he twice took the places of commanding officers who had been killed or disabled by wounds. He acted with such gallantry and ability as to twice receive the thanks of the United States Congress. In February, 1861, he resigned his rank as Surgeon and Major in the United States army and was appointed Surgeon General of the armies of the Confederacy.

Lieutenant Colonel Leopold C. Newman was mustered in service as Captain of Company B, 31st New York Volunteers. He rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. His term of service expiring a few days prior to the battle of Chancellorsville, he expressed the desire to remain at the front, and during that terrible struggle his foot was shattered by a cannon-ball; he was taken to Washington, where he died shortly after. President Lincoln called upon him, bringing his promotion to the rank of Brigadier General.

During the draft riots at New York City General William Mayer did heroic service, for which he received an autograph letter from President Lincoln, thanking him for the eminent services to our country during those days of darkness, doubt and gloom. General Mayer is living in New York City, the editor of leading German newspapers.

Captain Ullman, of Company E, 5th Pennsylvania Cavalry, was noted for his bravery. He served throughout the Civil War; he was also engaged in the war with the Sioux Indians in 1876, and was one of

those in the command of General Custer on that fatal day in June when the entire command was surrounded by the Indians and slaughtered.

William Durst, of the "Monitor," is one of the few survivors of that memorable fight between the Monitor and the Merrimack. Admiral Worden once said to the writer that Durst was not only a brave, fearless and patriotic man, but eminently worthy to be recognized by some action on the part of Congress.

Brevet Major General Frederick Knefler, 79th Indiana Regiment, attained the highest rank of any American Hebrew soldier. He enlisted as a private in the 29th Indiana Volunteers and rose step by step until he was promoted to the colonelcy of his regiment; subsequently he was Brigadier General, and then was made Brevet Major General for meritorious conduct at Chickamauga. He participated in the principal battles of the Army of the Cumberland under Generals Rosecrans, Thomas, Sherman and Grant, and took part in the engagements under Sherman in the march to the sea. General Knefler has the reputation of having been one of the most gallant of soldiers.

Major Alexander Wetzel, Company B, 26th Wisconsin Infantry, enlisted as a private in the 20th Wisconsin Volunteers; was promoted to Corporal, Sergeant, and to Major for bravery at Chancellorsville. He was mortally wounded at Gettysburg.

Captain Daniel Mayer, of the 5th West Virginia Infantry, received the following complimentary communication:

"STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,

Wheeling, May 30, 1866.

Doctor Daniel Mayer, Charleston, West Va.

Sir:—I am directed by his Excellency, the Governor, to present to you the enclosed medal, in accordance with a joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of West Virginia, adopted February 1, 1866, as a slight testimonial of the high appreciation by the State of your devotion, patriotism and services in suppressing the late rebellion.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. H. DUVAL, *Adjutant General.*"

Charles Hayman fought in the 4th Georgia Infantry, Company D. General Phil. Cook introduced comrade Charles Hayman to General Gordon at the reunion of the old brigade, with the words, "General, this was one of the bravest in my brigade."

Lieutenant Albert Luria Moses, at the age of 19, enlisted in a North Carolina regiment. He was soon appointed Lieutenant. He was killed at the battle of Seven Pines in June, 1862, while rallying his company, having seized the colors falling from the hands of the dying color-bearer. An incident of this brave officer is worth recording. At the engagement of Sewell's Point, in May, 1861, an eight-inch shell, with fuse still burning, fell into the company's gun-pit, and young Albert, without a moment's hesitation, seized it in his arms and put it in a tub of water, quenched the fuse and thus saved his own and his comrades' lives. The company, in recognition of his heroism, had the shell engraved with the history of the incident, and adding the words, "The pride of his regiment, the bravest of the brave," sent it to his parents. It now stands upon a pillar over his grave at the "Esquiline," near Columbus, Ga., as a fitting monument.

Lieutenant Henry Seeligson, of Galveston, Texas, was appointed 1st Lieutenant of the Galveston Cadets when the Mexican invasion of Galveston was threatened. In the Mexican War of 1846 he enlisted in Captain Bell's regiment, then under orders to join the command of General Taylor, en route for Monterey. Seeligson bore so conspicuous a part in the battle that he was sent for by General Taylor and highly complimented, being offered a lieutenancy in the 2d Dragoons.

At the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted in the Confederate army, joining the cavalry company commanded by Captain Woodward.

Doctor Marx E. Cohen, Jr., of Charleston, S. C., was one of the heroes of the Civil War. He enlisted at the age of twenty-one. Towards the close of the last battle of the war, at Bentonville, N. C., some shells containing explosive material were thrown into the Confederate lines from the guns of the Union forces. The captain of Hart's Battery called for volunteers to hurl them aside before they should burst and cause destruction to the command. Three men volunteered to undertake so dangerous a task, Dr. Cohen being one of the three. He and his companions were successful, but while returning to their own lines all three were shot dead by Federal bullets.

General Leopold Blumenberg fought in the 5th Maryland Infantry. After the attack on Fort Sumter he helped to organize the 5th Regiment Maryland Volunteers, of which he was appointed Major. He served near Hampton Roads, after which he was attached to Mansfield's Corps and participated in the Peninsular campaign, and subsequently in Maryland, where his regiment was engaged in the battle of Antietam, under

his command as "Colonel." Here he was shot in the thigh and confined to his bed for many months. Being disabled for further military duty, President Lincoln appointed him Provost Marshal of the 3d Maryland District. President Johnson subsequently promoted him to the rank of Brevet Brigadier General U. S. Volunteers.

It may not prove inappropriate to mention here the remarks made by Wm. P. Wood, Esq., one of Washington's best known citizens, with reference to the late General Blumenberg, in a communication to the writer:

"I was intimate with General Leopold Blumenberg, who commanded in person the 5th Regiment Maryland Volunteers. You and others of his friends are familiar with the deserved encomiums passed upon that gallant and kind-hearted American Jew, who received a terrible wound in leading his regiment on the battlefield of Antietam, and of which wound he died after having served in several important positions in Baltimore. Yours truly,

(*Signed*) WILLIAM P. WOOD."

The following is a table, by States, of the Jewish soldiers who served in the Civil War:

STATES.	Soldiers	Wounded	Killed	Captured	Died in Prison
Alabama	132	9	12	2	..
Arkansas	53	..	1	..	..
United States Army	135	2	4	1	..
Confederate States Army	9	..	..	..	..
Connecticut	17	..	..	..	..
California	28	..	..	..	..
District of Columbia	3	..	..	..	..
Georgia	137	11	15	4	..
Iowa	12	1	1	..	..
Indiana	512	7	12	2	..
Illinois	1076	43	56	..	..
Kansas	9	3	1	..	..
Kentucky	22	2	..	..	..

Louisiana	224	10	21	5	..
Maryland	7	2	..	..	..
Missouri	239	7	7	..	..
Massachusetts	17	2	..	..	..
Michigan	210	..	22	..	..
Mississippi	156	5	12	1	..
Maine	—1	..	..	..	..
North Carolina	52	4	3	8	2
New Jersey	18	..	1	1	..
New Mexico	2	..	1	..	..
New York	1882	26	29	8	..
United States Navy	76	2	2	..	..
Confederate States Navy	11	..	..	..	..
Nevada	3	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire	2	1	..	..	..
Ohio	1134	16	52	..	..
Pennsylvania	528	54	19	11	..
Rhode Island	4	..	..	..	..
Revolutionary War	40	..	..	..	..
South Carolina	117	20	29	5	..
United States Staff	16	..	..	..	..
Confederate States Staff	14	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	38	3	7	1	1
Texas	104	15	13	2	..
Vermont	1	..	..	..	..
Virginia	113	15	12	2	..
West Virginia	7	1	..	..	..
Wisconsin	20	3	4	..	..
Washington Territory	1	..	..	..	..
Wyoming Territory	1	..	..	..	..

Soldiers	7243
Wounded	316
Killed	336
Captured	53
Died in prison	17

To this are added brief sketches of a few Hebrews who served in the earlier wars of the United States:

Major Lewis Bush became 1st Lieutenant of the 6th Pennsylvania Battalion in January, 1776, and Captain the following June. He was transferred to Colonel Thomas Hartley's additional Continental regiment January, 1777, and was commissioned Major in March, 1777. That he proved a brave soldier his active part in a number of battles affords complete evidence of. At

the battle of Brandywine in September, 1777, he received wounds of so serious a character as to prove fatal a few days after.

Major Alfred Mordecai was one of the recognized authorities in the military world in the field of scientific research and in practical application of mechanical deduction to war purposes. He served in the Mexican War, and was sent by our Government to witness and report upon the operations in the Crimea. Major Mordecai was the author of "Experiments on Gunpowder" and other works.

Commodore Uriah Phillips Levy, one of the best known American naval officers of former days, was at the time of his death the highest ranking officer in the United States Navy. He served in the war of 1812, being the master of the brig of war Argus, which ran the blockade to France, with Mr. Crawford, the American minister to that country, on board. The Argus destroyed twenty-one British merchantmen. In recognition of his valuable services to the nation the Common Council of New York City honored him with the freedom of the city. Commodore Levy vigorously opposed the application of the lash to seamen. Upon his tombstone at Cypress Hill is recorded the fact that he was "The father of the law for the abolition of the barbarous practice of corporal punishment in the Navy of the United States."

THE LIFE AND SERVICE OF THE REV. ISAAC LEESER*

*To My Friends: I trust to be pardoned for having made this the occasion to speak not alone of Leeser, but of a few other matters pertaining to the welfare and prosperity of our people.—S. W.

A DUTY both pleasant and painful devolves upon me; pleasant that I am permitted to contribute an unpretending violet to the bouquet of praise, painful that a man so sincerely beloved, so grievously wronged, should have been cut off at the very age when his services and talents were most needed. Isaac Leeser was no ordinary man. Few of his contemporaries had less advantages of education or influential surroundings. Poor in purse, unknown, a stranger in a strange land, the language to be learned, friends to win, and influence to make, he commenced his career. Fortunately, nature had gifted him with extraordinary powers of language, and what he lacked of scholarship was more than made up by a broad, deep, fervent humanity, energy to do, and perseverance to accomplish. He came to the United States when an Israelite was an anomaly, when his religion was condemned, his habits derided, his motives misjudged, and his actions ever held up to the public gaze for derision. Forty years ago, when Leeser commenced his labors, our people

*An address delivered under the auspices of Elijah Lodge I. O. B. B. at the Synagogue, Washington, D. C. March 15, 1868.

were like the States, few. Influence they had none. Men of mind were not; and the public press was as unsparing in their criticism as the cause was uncalled for.

At a time when an American Jewish paper or periodical was unknown; when the Jewish merchant princes of New York and other cities were yet wending their way over their native hills, trying to earn a livelihood; when no palatial mansions or palaces of business gave evidence of Jewish prosperity; when Jewish orphan asylums and hospitals were yet embedded in their native quarries; when the order of B'nai B'rith had not ripened into a plan of charity; when, in short, our people were a mere cipher publicly and socially, Isaac Leeser commences his labors for the cause of Judaism and true humanity. He made no concealment of his faith, was proud to proclaim himself a son of the true covenant, and whenever opportunity offered, gave evidences of his sincerity and ability to vindicate his cause and people. He was the pioneer Israelite of America. The banner that he unfurled forty years since still floats grandly over the temple of his people. No schism, no differences as to forms, no standard of his faith, impugned the integrity of his motives, or weakened his efforts in the path of what he conceived to be his duty.

To all of us are given more or less opportunities to be public benefactors, or prove our faith by private acts of charity and kindness; but how few embrace the occasion. We are so engrossed with the material, that the spiritual, the truly human, characteristics are smothered. Hence, when we find a man devoting the best years of his life to the regeneration of his people,

to the education of his-fellow citizens of every creed, to the advancement of morals and progressive humanity, he deserves a more than lip eulogy. Isaac Leeser labored day and night for the cause of education, for posterity. His labors and zeal were truly wonderful; his translations into English voluminous; and if he had done nothing else than translate the Bible he would be deserving of eternal remembrance. But he did more. His sermons, rich in eloquence and philosophy, have been compiled and given to an admiring world; his monthly magazine was the welcome friend in thousands of Jewish homes for years, and his contributions to papers and magazines were ever welcomed. He was the leader in every charity of his time. He took a pride in defending his people from the cruel and slanderous attacks of ignorant enemies or intelligent Rodins. He travelled far and wide to enlighten his people, and to dedicate new places of worship, wherein they might glorify God in the highest.

The position of teacher and defender of a people is not one courted; the forum, the political arena, the merchant's counter, the painter's easel, offer so many more temptations. In each of these you can gain earthly power and fame; they open to you wide the doors of society; they are the means of amassing the glittering ingots which often, alas! outweigh the best and purest intentions. Hence, when a man like Leeser abandons all of these, and devotes forty years of life to mankind—to make them purer, better, to educate the masses to the proper appreciation of that divine goodness which has saved, protected, and prospered his people—we cannot refrain from giving our warmest admiration to one so truly noble, so devotedly adhering

"TEMPLE ISRAEL"

to a policy elevated, simple, and sublime. What a crying shame it is that his labors were not duly appreciated as they should have been; that his motives and actions were often dragged into the arena of personalities; that he was in truth tortured to death. Isaac Leeser was only sixty-two years of age, and might have lived full twenty years, had not his life been embittered by attacks from unthinking, ungrateful, and often malicious contemporaries. His was a very sensitive nature. Knowing the integrity of his conduct, the sincerity of his motives, every aspersion caused a wound, until, at last, he died a martyr, and no warrior clad in mail ever battled more heroically for his lady fair, no king or emperor ever defended his throne more manfully, no painter ever depicted on canvas more glowingly, no poet ever sang more inspiringly, than Isaac Leeser battled for his people and defended his principles, depicted in word-painting the glory of Israel and Israel's God, or sang more hallelujahs and songs of praise for the progress and regeneration of his people.

And here we have a perfect exemplification of the ingratitude of the masses towards their real benefactors. And of no people is this more true than of the Israelites; the curse that wrought their dispersion, that has made them wanderers in every land, exists to-day —*envy and stubbornness*. They never appreciate their real benefactors, and when they are conscious of their worth, belittle and degrade them. The true merits of men, especially Jews, always appear, and are lauded when the subject has ceased to exist. *No bad Jew ever died*. This is all wrong. Give unto God and man the respective homage that religion, talent, and integrity demand.

Mr. Leeser, and men of like worth and talent, should be encouraged, both by words of cheer and more substantial tokens of appreciation. We may differ materially in matters of doctrine; talmudical lore, or the legends of the Mishna, may receive many interpretations; but that does not authorize any one to declare his neighbor unfit for heaven, or unworthy of confidence or esteem. We should exercise more charity in our anxiety to educate others, and then we will have more disciples of our faith. Unfortunately our people occupy an anomalous position. While we have many men of wealth, how few of them exercise any public influence. While we have many whose minds are vast storehouses of learning, their doctrines partake of the midnight lamp, and hence lack that healthy vitality which gives character and purpose to their principles. Where are our Vanderbilts, Astors, Stewarts, Drews, Cornings? Where our merchant marine, commanded by the capital of Israelites? Where our Jewish railroad kings? Where our Jewish Senators, Representatives—where our Websters, Clays, Marshalls? They are dragging their weary length in the halls of Solo and amusement.

No one was ever more fully impregnated with love for his people than Leeser, for he knew full well, that the more you love your nation, the more you try to elevate their moral and intellectual conditions, the more you will be fulfilling the great duty of teacher and spiritual guide.

And as of nations, so of individuals, Mr. Leeser knew that our only hope lies in education. All synagogues, all secret and benevolent associations will fail to bring about that standard which equals you with

your Christian friends. Education is the great sesame which will open the doors of imprisoned thought; it will cause you to forget the slights and sneers of the past, fit you to cope with the mighty present, and bid you hope for a better and brighter future. Educate your children, and you place in their hands the magic wand and with which they can invoke respect and admiration, and through and by its means acquire the wealth material and intellectual.

Education among Israelites, except in the Hebrew, was for a long time neglected. The circumstances which surrounded them prevented general and cosmopolitan culture. Education was neglected. But if they were excluded from social, political and religious rights, if they were looked upon as accursed, there were and are some traits which they did not and have not abandoned, and they are the noblest and purest; they grace and adorn mankind; they more than compensate for the suffering and obloquy of centuries—and they are the domestic virtues, the purity of our wives and daughters, the temperance of our men, the patriarchal affections of the home circle, the charity and benevolence of our whole people, and the moral sobriety and persistent energy with which they pursue a livelihood, scorning to beg when the broad world's arena offers so many thousand chances to earn an honest penny.

Thank God that divorces with us are exceptions; that our fair daughters cling to the priceless jewel, virtue, with the same devotion as their ancestors to their religion; that the poor-houses, jails, and penitentiaries exhibit but rarely an Israelite as an inmate thereof; that the streets are not burdened with Jew-

ish beggars, and that murder is as foreign to our people as it unhappily is common with modern civilization! And it was this conviction, this inherent feeling of right, that gave Mr. Leeser such strength of purpose, and such unanswerable arguments in behalf of the virtue, sobriety, and intellectual culture of his people. He founded the hope that the claims of his kindred would sooner or later be recognized by a generous, intelligent American public, for he wisely considered that where a class forming an integral part of a great nation cultivated all of these ennobling traits, they should be esteemed and honored, for virtue forms the foundation upon which republics rest. Where that is undermined, the axe has hewn more than half its way at the very life of the nation.

No one was more grieved than Mr. Leeser at the great and glaring injustice done the Israelites during the late war. He not only threw the lustre of his great name into the scale, but worked day and night to refute slanders and invoke his people to calmness and moderation. The prejudices and wrongs practised on the Israelites during the war are beyond belief. Prominent gentlemen, whether Senators, members, or generals commanding, could with impunity deal in cotton passes, or send their vessels, laden with goods contraband, to Matamoras, and no outcry was made; but when Jews, guilty, no doubt, (for they must be guilty, being Jews,) were caught in the attempt to get a trunk of goods across the line, the telegrams were numerous, the press wrote double-leaded leaders, and against whom? Not "John Jackson," but against another "Jew," as if the rarity of the occurrence made it a delectable bit of news.

It was of no moment that these cases were few and incident to every war, and as citizens, and not as Jews, should have been punished. It was of no account that thousands of Israelites fought bravely on the side of freedom. It counted nothing in the scale of justice that hundreds of Jewish officers had won their eagles and stars through their heroic bravery on the bloody fields of the South. It was a mockery for the friends and loved ones to weep because the dear one, whose genial face and noble heart had made home a heaven, was lingering a prisoner in some Southern Andersonville! Were they not Jews? And are they not blockade-runners, clothes-dealers, pawnbrokers, etc.?

Were Mr. Leeser here to-day he would say, in language ever to be remembered, in words breathing inspiration, that being Jews, they are not blockade-runners, clothes-dealers, etc., but that on the pages of history, science, art, music, and general literature, no people are their superiors, few their equals; that in their schemes of broad and universal charity they excel all other classes—so much so, indeed, that even the London Times lately asked how it was that there are no Jewish paupers, and for Parliament to appoint a committee to report on the workings of Jewish charity associations. Knowing this, Mr. Leeser was deeply pained that his fellow-citizens should so far forget their wonted fairness, that they even bore patiently the infamous order of a celebrated general, which banished free American citizens from loyal ground, an order worthy of a Hapsburg or Bomba, but never of an American general in the nineteenth century. Nothing that transpired during the war

caused more indignation or deserves more lasting execration. And incidents of this character furrowed deep the doubts as to the stability and perpetuity of his adopted country, and yet no man, be he to the manner born or foreign, loved the United States more fervently, and his constant desire was to educate the Israelite into a law-abiding, honored, trusted citizen, leaving the matter of religion to the only source of appeal known to human ken. His constant idea was that no matter whether orthodox or reform, that there is no promised land except that created by industry and integrity; where freedom and religious tolerance abides, he claimed there the promised land is founded and eternal.

The Israelite, therefore, in this country, which is the promised land, must, in common with his fellow-citizens, contribute to the political and social formation of the State. He must take an active interest in all the springs of commerce and enterprise. The social must be developed and encouraged, meeting our Christian friends on a plane of equality. Another great misapprehension exists. We do things as Jews, not as Americans. Sectarianism has nothing to do with men's actions. Let us never forget, but rather, as our ancestors taught us to do, impress it upon our wrists, foreheads, and inscribe it upon the doorposts of our houses, what this government of the people, by the people, and for the people, has done in the cause of progress and tolerance.

It was for this idea, for the enunciation of these principles, that Mr. Leeser battled for forty years, his only ambition being to receive credit for his intentions and devotion. To the order of B'nai B'rith,

which is so largely represented here to-day, his loss is almost irreparable. He was an almost constant attendant at their meetings, passing from the lowest to the highest position in his district. He formed high hopes of their usefulness and generous philanthropy. His voice was constantly raised for the broadest dissemination of the pure and high-toned tenets of the order, and nothing gave him greater satisfaction than the knowledge of the prosperity and assured perpetuity of the order. In regard to Mr. Leeser, as he will be regarded by posterity, I cannot forbear quoting the language of his co-laborer in the Occident, M. Sulzberger, Esq., who says: "There have been greater Talmudists, there may have been more eloquent orators, and more graceful writers; but among them all there has been no greater genius, no better Jew, and no purer man, than Isaac Leeser." A worthy epitaph, far more enduring than marble or bronze, and more worthy than all kingly praise.

In conclusion, let us, adopted citizens, not forget the many hours of oppression and wrong that our history and experience recount; with what heroic fortitude and endurance we have battled; how ignorance and prejudice are vanishing day by day; that while many have fallen martyrs to their cause, while many are yet suffering and languishing out an existence in other climes, we are here, thank God! free and untrammelled. We have no petty tyrants to molest, oppress, or proscribe us; but we have the wide belt of land, made independent by heroic sires, and forever to be defended by patriotic sons.

Our country is giving the impulse to every nation on the earth to act more generously and in accordance

with a higher civilization. England's toiling millions are clamoring for full, free enfranchisement, and are on the high road to success, through a descendant of Israel. With all his imperial power, Napoleon cannot still the public voice which can never forget its part in behalf of liberty and fraternity. Intellectual, cultured, Germany is rapidly looming forward in unity towards a brighter political and social existence. Bigoted Austria is, under recent wise statesmanship, throwing off the shackles, and once more veering into the channels of state policy which the illustrious Joseph II had founded. Russia has freed its serfs, and now has revoked its confiscation laws, and there seems to be one general millenium, tending towards concord and happiness.

Let, then, our endeavors be to rally around the institutions that protect us in the free exercise of thought and religious convictions, and let us never consent to see the flag lowered, save when one of its heroic defenders is consigned to mother earth; and on every other occasion high advanced, a beacon of hope, an incentive of light, and a terror to tyrants and traitors.*

*Simon Wolf was a member of the Council of the American Jewish Historical Society from its organization, in 1892, until his death, and did much, as this volume indicates, to promote a study of the history of the Jews of America. These later researches themselves necessarily modify the incidental understatement of the position of the Jews in America prior to Leeser's day, which finds expression in this early address of 1868, and which Mr. Wolf would have been the first to correct, before permitting republication of this fine necrology. A detailed and scholarly paper on Isaac Leeser by Prof. Henry Englander is to be found in the "Year Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis," Vol. 28 (1918) p. 213 et seq. —Editors.

MORDECAI MANUEL NOAH

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

IT is not necessary for a citizen of the United States to have his faith stamped on his forehead. The name of freeman is sufficient passport.—Extract from Noah's *Travels in Europe and Africa.*

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* I know of no more opportune time than the present to emphasize the good work done by American citizens of Jewish faith. When many of the leading newspapers of the country, both secular and religious, are more or less impairing the fundamental principles underlying our form of government and attacking the sacred rights of individual judgment and belief; when from the pulpit and rostrum are uttered words diametrically opposite to the spirit and genius of our institutions, and when persons clothed with the ermine degrade their judicial functions by opinions and decisions that breathe not of American spirit, but that of ancient feudalism and the middle ages, it is high time to show by an account of the services of an American citizen of the ancient faith, what he wrought and how he fought for the elevation of all men, which naturally included his own co-religionists. Much has been said and written about the subject of this sketch, but so far all is very incomplete, and, aside from the aim and object already quoted above, my hope is that some one having more time and greater facilities than myself will be impelled to write a book more complete and satisfactory, and thus furnish a biography of Noah, a story of patriotism, Judaism, heroism and philanthropy, all of which elements, along with the characteristics of early American journalism, were so prominently embodied in the life and career of this illustrious American citizen.

For many of the incidents herein detailed I am indebted to Judge J. J. Noah, of Washington, the son of Major Noah, himself distinguished as a jurist and publicist of note. The portrait on the frontispiece of this (in its original pamphlet form) sketch is from a miniature painted by the elder Jarvis, which is regarded as one of the masterly productions of that artist.

Washington, D. C., January, 1897. SIMON WOLF.

Mordecai Manuel Noah was born in Philadelphia, July 19, 1785, and died at New York City, March 22, 1851, in his sixty-sixth year. He was the eldest son of Manuel Mordecai Noah, of Charleston, South Carolina, a patriot of the Revolution, and Zipporah Phillips Noah, the daughter of Robert Phillips of Philadelphia, one of the most prominent patriots of the Revolutionary period. Robert Phillips was also the father of Zeligman Phillips and the grandfather of Henry M. and Altamont Phillips, distinguished as leading members of the Philadelphia bar. Henry M. Phillips was a representative in the Thirty-fifth Congress of the United States, which was the only political office ever held or accepted by him. Robert Phillips was also the grandfather of Commodore Uriah P. Levy, of the United States Navy. Mr. Noah's mother died at Charleston, South Carolina, and his father, in a fit of melancholia, consequent upon the death of his wife, disappeared without leaving a trace of whither he had gone and was mourned as dead.*

Thereupon the friends of the family caused the boy Mordecai, who was then but ten years of age, to be

*One of the most dramatic of the many remarkable episodes of Major Noah's life, was his discovery of his missing father. Years after the latter's mysterious disappearance, when Major Noah was on his way to the Orient as United States Consul, he entered a restaurant in the city of Paris, and was presently struck by the appearance of a soldier in a distant corner of the room, dressed in the Continental uniform, blue coat, buff vest, short knee breeches, with his hair done up in a queue. Noah went up to him and greeted him in French; the stranger replied in English, saying, "Are you not an American?" Noah said he was. Then the other replied "So am I. My name is Manuel Mordecai Noah." "My God!" said the Major, "You are my father." And in this way father and son were again united.

sent to his grandfather at Philadelphia. Realizing that his grandfather had a large family to support and educate, and being ambitious to provide for himself, and not be a burden upon his relatives, the boy apprenticed himself with the consent of his grandfather, to a carver and gilder to learn that handicraft, and for the remuneration of his board and clothes he contracted to serve his master until he arrived at the age of twenty-one.

Meantime he attended school for about a year, having among his classmates John and Stephen Decatur, of whom the latter subsequently attained eminent distinction as a commodore in the United States Navy, but unhappily died, in 1820, from the effects of a wound received in a duel with Commodore Barron. Entering at once upon his apprenticeship, young Noah developed an insatiate thirst for reading, and being unable to longer attend day-school, proceeded to educate himself at night at the old Franklin Library, then the rendezvous and resort of the great men of that era, whose habit it was to there meet and discuss the political issues of the day, Philadelphia being then the national capital. The library was free to all, and here the youth came every night, with the permission of his master, ensconcing himself in an obscure corner and reading with all possible interest and avidity such books as commended themselves to his taste. The librarians all knew him and kindly assisted him in every way to advance his studies. The prominent men who assembled nightly at the library were not slow to notice this lad, and watching him closely, observed that he was reading a class of literature far beyond his years. They questioned him, and ascer-

taining that he was a grandson of the patriot Robert Phillips, and an indentured apprentice, took an especial interest in him, and through the personal efforts of the distinguished financier Robert Morris, procured the cancellation of his indentures and obtained for him an appointment as clerk in the Auditor's office, there being then but one auditor of the United States Treasury. Although a mere boy, he prepared the actuary tables of the eight per cent loan, and in appreciation of his precocious efforts Congress voted him an extra compensation of $100 for his services. It may here be remarked that in his subsequent days of influence and distinction, Major Noah was wont to mention to his friends and contemporaries that he remembered no more happy moment of his younger life than when he was paid this sum at the Treasury in Spanish milled dollars, wrapped them in an old bandanna handkerchief, took them home, and presented them to his venerable grandfather.

Upon the removal of the national capital to Washington, young Noah resigned his clerkship and accepted employment as a reporter at the sessions of the Pennsylvania Legislature at Harrisburg. It was in this connection that he acquired his first experiences in journalism, in which he afterward marked his career as probably the ablest and most influential American editor of his generation. The teachings of his grandfather, Robert Phillips, sank deeply into his heart and mind. He had been instructed that it was no less his first object in life than his constant duty to support the constitution and laws of his country, which guaranteed civil and religious liberty; that free America offered welcome to all who should come to

her shores, and that here, and here alone, was to be found that refuge which the Jews, persecuted throughout ages, had so long hoped and prayed for. It is not surprising, therefore, that the boy grew to manhood with reverence for his country and its liberal institutions. With this sentiment implanted in every bone and fibre, intensely American in all his hopes and aspirations, he realized that being a Jew he would be called upon to turn aside, if possible, the lance points of religious prejudice, so largely dominant throughout the world. The reflex of this prejudice was unfortunately apparent even in the United States, and although the early colonial Jews were undoubtedly nearly all patriots,* and contributed their efforts and their means freely and indeed lavishly to aid the colonies in their struggle for independence, serving in the Revolutionary army and mingling their blood with that of their compatriots on many a hard-fought field, nevertheless, the inexplicable tide of religious prejudice was not thereby checked, but has flown on in currents more or less violent, even up to the present time. A few years prior to the War of 1812, during the exciting times when Great Britain claimed and enforced the right of search, which was submitted to by our people for quite a period, not, however, without protest, young Noah returned to Charleston, S. C., then the largest and wealthiest seaport of the country. He was surprised to find that the mercantile community of that city was averse to war with Great Britain because of its embargo upon commerce, and that those patriots who were ready to risk their lives

*This I have amply shown in the book entitled "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen," 1895, Phila. Levytype Co.

for the honor and standing of their country were sadly in the minority. He at once entered the political arena as an advocate of war and the maintenance, at all hazards, of American rights on the high seas, and his vigorous and patriotic communications to the Charleston press over the signature of "Muley Malack," in which he denounced the craven spirit of those who would sacrifice the honor of their country and the liberty of its citizens to the mere greed of money, and advocated war in maintenance of American liberty and independence among the nations of the earth, brought young Noah into conspicuous prominence. As a consequence of his activity in this cause he became particularly obnoxious to the dominant element, through the influence and machinations of which quite a number of advocates of war with Great Britain had been driven out or practically assassinated through the "code duello." He spoke fearlessly and eloquently from the stump and rostrum, and received insults innumerable, which he resented on all occasions. Various attempts were made to sacrifice him to the duello, and indeed, to make away with him, but he escaped them all, and it finally became understood and accepted that at all times and in any way, he was ready to fight for his principles. Three duels, in one of which he killed his opponent, were sufficient to give him the reputation of a man of courage, and thereafter his enemies hesitated to attack him. His advocacy, in conjunction with that of other brave and earnest South Carolinians, of a policy of resistance against Great Britain, created a revolution in public sentiment, and South Carolina was finally carried in favor of the proposed war.

In the fall of 1812 President Madison appointed Major Noah Consul of the United States at Riga, Russia, then the most important commercial port on the Baltic Sea. This preferment being declined by Noah, he was appointed, in 1813, Consul at Tunis, with a special mission to Algiers. He was then but twenty-eight years of age. The vessel in which he embarked at Charleston, S. C., was captured in the British Channel by an English warship on the night of July 3, 1813, and he was detained several weeks as a prisoner of war. In view, however, of his diplomatic capacity he was released and ordered out of the country. The commanding officer of the ship which captured him, Sir Thomas Staines, had been stationed, before the war, near New York, and was familiar with American affairs. On the morning after the capture he approached Major Noah, saying that he remembered that the Fourth of July, the natal day of American independence, was dear to every American heart, and expressing his great regret that the Major was then a prisoner on an enemy's vessel. "I have occasion," said Sir Thomas Staines, "to leave the ship. Here are the musicians, and my cabin is at your disposal. I have ordered a stout of wine to be broached for your men. Enjoy yourselves and celebrate the Fourth of July with perfect freedom."

This gallant act has never before been publicly recorded. The American prisoners celebrated the Fourth of July under the auspices of their captor, and the name of the gallant Sir Thomas Staines should be handed down to American posterity and engrossed in American history with all honor and respect. When Major Noah was confined in the En-

glish prison at Portsmouth, where the American prisoners were immured, he brought his compatriots the first news of the capture of the Chesapeake and the tragic death of the heroic Lawrence, who, with his last breath, uttered the words that have made him immortal in American histoy, "Don't give up the ship!" Great stalwart Americans fell upon each other's necks and wept like children at hearing this ill news. "Thank God," said they, "Lawrence died like a hero and there was no loss of honor."

Proceeding by the way of Spain to his post of duty at Tunis, Major Noah was soon engaged in the work for which he was specially commissioned, to ransom the American prisoners then held in slavery by the Algerians. The negotiations were protracted, difficult and tedious, but success finally attended his efforts, and he had the pleasure and satisfaction of freeing his fellow-citizens from the galling yoke of Algerian slavery. At the same time, however, he was accused of exceeding his instructions through having ransomed more enslaved Americans than his letter of instructions warranted. He resented this charge, asserting that the liberty of an American citizen could not be measured by a mere money or verbal limitation, and that it was his duty to free every American thus held, regardless of such limitations. His political enemies at home attacked him mercilessly, and his drafts for the moneys expended for ransom were permitted to go to protest. He was finally recalled upon the miserable pretext that, being a Jew, his religion was regarded as incompatible with his consular position at Tunis. Here he met Commodore Stephen Decatur for the first time since they were schoolmates

together at Philadelphia, and it so happened that Decatur presented him with his letter of recall without knowing its contents. Major Noah's vindication, however, was thorough and complete; his action in ransoming the American captives in Algiers formed the subject of exciting discussions in Congress and was approved by his countrymen. Finally, his drafts were honored, and a balance of nearly $13,000 declared in his favor. It need hardly be remarked that the pretext given for Major Noah's recall was and remains a blot upon the history of American civilization.*

Major Noah was greatly respected by his diplomatic associates who represented other nations in Tunis. On one occasion the Consul of Germany was set upon and attacked by a detachment of Janizaries, led by a son of the Bey. He fled for protection to the American Consul, who gave him effective asylum. The Janizaries threateningly demanded the surrender of the German Consul, but Major Noah raised the American flag and defied them. In resisting the attempt to force an entrance to the consular building, Major Noah drew his sword and cut down the son of the Bey. Reinforcements were sent, and the delivery of the German Consul insolently demanded by force of arms. Seeing that resistance would be useless, he surrendered his sword and tore off his coat the gold stripes which indicated his diplomatic office, saying that if the Ger-

*In the Appendix to this sketch (p. 136 etc.) there will be found letters from his colleagues at Tunis; also letters from Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Madison, and others, proving what high estimate all of these men placed upon the character and ability of Major Noah, and also evidencing, if any such evidence were necessary, what keen-sighted statesmen Jefferson, Madison, and Adams were. Indeed, the letter of Adams indicates a degree of liberality broader than has generally been credited to him.

man Consul were arrested, he would also be arrested with him and share his captivity. Accordingly, the two Consuls were led away by their captors, but after a few hours detention were released, the Bey fearing that Decatur, then commanding the American fleet in the Mediterranean, would speedily avenge the wrong. Major Noah was cordially commended by his fellow-consuls for his courage and determination. The fact is, the Bey of Tunis would gladly have had him made away with. This hostility doubtless arose from the fact that Major Noah embraced every possible occasion to denounce the payment of the yearly tribute of $200,000 which, singular as it may appear from the present standpoint of American power, our Government then paid the Tunisian government for the privilege of permitting our merchant marine to navigate the Mediterranean Sea along the Barbary coast, then infested with piratical Algerian craft. The idea of paying this tribute was abhorrent to Major Noah, who insisted that this money were better expended in building war-ships to attack and batter down the strongholds of these barbarous nations, in accordance with his motto, "millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." This motto, afterwards so completely Americanized, had its true origin with Major Noah. The lamented "Sunset" Cox, in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives, shortly before his death, on the efforts then being made to recognize or incorporate "God" in the Federal Constitution, as an amendment thereto, remarked, "That Mr. Noah had put a quietus upon that proposition as far back as 1813." He, however, did not give the particulars, but as they are highly interesting they may here be narrated in

full, the more particularly as they are important not only to the student of constitutional history, but because they relate to an episode which forms a grand link in the chain of events that mark the development of our institutions.

At the period in question England was at war with both the United States and France. One day an American privateer came into the harbor of Tunis with three English East Indiamen loaded with valuable cargoes, as prizes. These prizes and cargoes were turned over to the American consul to sell at auction. The British Minister protested against such sale on the ground of a clause in the treaty with England which provided that no Christian power should sell a British prize or its cargo in an Algerian port. Major Noah admitted the bona fides of the stipulation, but contended that under proper interpretation of international law the United States could not be held to be a Christian nation within the meaning of the treaty and hence was excepted from the inhibition. To prove his contention he exhibited the Constitution of the United States with its manifold provisions against sectarianism and religious tests, and finally cited the Joel Barlow Treaty with Tripoli, of 1796, ratified by the United States Senate, which declared that the United States made no objections to Musselmans because of their religion and that they were entitled to and should receive all the privileges of citizens of the most favored nations. This argument was sustained by the Bey and the prizes were accordingly sold in Tunis, and thus became established a principle of international law which has never since been challenged. Major Noah used to remark,

jocularly, in discussing this question that the twenty per cent, of proceeds of sale paid to the Bey, as port dues, was doubtless a prominent factor in influencing his decision to allow the prizes to be sold, notwithstanding the protest of the British Minister. But be that as it may, the proposition was never thereafter questioned by England, nor, indeed, by any other nation. Therefore, the United States, in which no union of church and state exists, and no religious tests of any kind are recognized, is not a Christian nation within the meaning of the Constitution, and the framers of that great bill of rights, declaring civil and religious liberty, built even better than they knew. Mordecai Manuel Noah, an American Jew, was the first to carry these provisions of the constitution of his country into practical effect from the standpoint of international law.

Returning home in 1819 and taking up his residence in New York City, he published an interesting volume recounting his "Travels in England, France, Spain, and the Barbary States," which is said to have been the first book of travels from the pen of an American citizen. In this volume is narrated the story of his ransom of the American prisoners held in slavery by the Algerians; the recital of the unjust treatment received by him at the hand of James Monroe, then Secretary of State, and Richard Rush, Attorney-General; also his correspondence concerning Judaism with Jefferson, John Adams and others. Entering the field of journalism, Major Noah founded the National Advocate. He was elected High Sheriff of the city and county of New York in 1822. At that time the law permitted imprisonment for debt, and the

yellow fever epidemic, then raging in New York, having broken out in the Debtors' Jail, then situated in the City Hall Park, he threw open the doors of the prison and urged the poor debtors confined therein to save themselves. They quickly fled, and Major Noah was thereby made responsible for their debts. He paid over two hundred thousand dollars on this account, which completely impoverished him. A bill to reimburse him to that amount was introduced into the New York legislature, but was defeated through the opposition of Martin Van Buren. This loss was never made good to him, and he required of his children that they should never make any demand for it. So the State of New York and, indeed, humanity at large, owes Major Noah a debt which money can never discharge. The citizens of New York, without regard to party, appreciating the situation, gave him a benefit at the old Park Theatre at which one of his patriotic dramas, "The Siege of Tripoli," was produced. The theatre was crowded from pit to dome with the most prominent residents of New York and the receipts netted several thousand dollars. The theatre took fire after the performance and burned to the ground, and Major Noah gave the entire proceeds to the actors who had lost their wardrobes in the conflagration.

The National Advocate was discontinued and Noah then began the publication of the New York Enquirer, which was subsequently merged with the Courier and became the Courier and Inquirer, in partnership with Col. James Watson Webb, under the firm name of Noah & Webb. This partnership was dissolved in consequence of a political difference between Noah and Webb, the latter declaring in favor of maintain-

ing the United States Bank, while Major Noah sustained President Jackson in removing the government deposits from that institution. The story of this exciting episode of Jackson's administration is in various prints, notably that of Benton's "Thirty Years in the United States Senate." President Jackson appointed Major Noah to the position of surveyor of the port of New York, the collector being Samuel Swartout, who subsequently defaulted and fled the country.

In 1834 Major Noah established the Evening Star, which became the leading Whig organ of the country, and supported William Henry Harrison for President in 1836. Harrison was defeated by Van Buren, but in 1840 he was again nominated and elected over Van Buren. In this contest, that of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," Mr. Noah took a prominent part for Harrison. William H. Seward, then Governor of New York, appointed Major Noah Judge of the Court of Sessions, a position which he filled with eminent dignity until he resigned because he felt himself incompetent to sit upon the trial for forgery of a certain member of Congress whom he had known from boyhood. He had known the parents of the prisoner, good old Quakers, and the idea of having to sentence the son to the penitentiary in case of conviction was so abhorrent to his kindly nature that he preferred to resign from the bench. The unfortunate man was subsequently convicted and sentenced, and died in the Sing Sing Penitentiary. In 1842 Noah established a daily paper called The Union, which was discontinued as a daily after the expiration of President Taylor's administration, and then became a weekly periodical under the title of "Noah's Sunday Times and Mes-

senger," which he edited up to the time of his death. This journal obtained a large circulation and was the most influential weekly of its time.

In 1820 Noah undertook a project to re-establish the Jewish nation and form a Jewish state, purchasing Grand Island, on the Niagara River, near Buffalo, (now a celebrated summer resort), on which to locate Jewish emigrants. He erected at White Haven, on the eastern side of the island, opposite Tonawanda, a monument of brick and wood with the inscription "Ararat, a city of refuge for the Jews, founded by Mordecai Manuel Noah in the month of Tishri, 5586 (September, 1825), and in the Fiftieth year of American independence." The proposed city of refuge was dedicated with impressive ceremonies according to the Jewish rites, and all went well until Major Noah discovered and realized that the Jews, being domiciliaries of all nations, could not be assembled on this far-off land at the mere sound of the shofar, and that it would take years and a vast amount of money, even if successfully directed, to gather them from all corners of the earth, and to colonize them on American soil. He found, moreover, that the assimilation of peoples speaking different languages, with different modes of thought, different habits, customs and ideas, could not be accomplished by merger upon the single plane of a common religion. The project was therefore abandoned as impracticable. Major Noah's main idea in thus seeking to establish this city of Jewish refuge was that it would bring the persecuted Jews to a new life and a new home, where they and their posterity would enjoy civil and religious liberty and also contribute to the benefit of the United States by

inducing an immigration which would be of great commercial advantage. The American Republic was then hardly more than an experiment and the European press was constantly asserting that our government by the people was a chimera, and could not be realized or maintained for any considerable length of time. To bring the Jews to American shores, with their habits of obedience to law, their great commercial experience and general advancement in the elements of civilization, Major Noah conceived, would prove of inestimable benefit to the American Republic, then passing through its stage of experimentation.

Major Noah wrote, in addition to his book of travels, a large mass of miscellaneous addresses and essays, political and religious, some of which were reproduced in a volume called "Gleanings from a Gathered Harvest." He also delivered various lectures on Judaism and published a translation of the Book of Jashar, one of the Books excluded from the King James edition of the Bible. He likewise was the author of many plays, among which were the "Fortress of Sorrento," "Paul and Alexis," known afterwards as "The Wandering Boys," "She Would Be a Soldier, or The Plains of Chippewa," "Marion, or The Hero of Lake George," "The Grecian Captive" and "The Siege of Tripoli." In the palmy days of American patriotism, now seemingly in decadence, the theatres all over the country always produced Major Noah's patriotic plays on the evening of the Fourth of July, the favorites being "She Would Be a Soldier" and "Marion, the hero of Lake George."

Major Noah's life, from his youth to his latest years, was pure and one of great mental and physical activ-

ity. He was a prominent participant in all public affairs of his day and time, associating intimately with the greatest Americans, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Clay, Cass, Calhoun, Webster, Benton, Silas Wright, and the host of shining lights which in that period illumined the pages of American history. But of all traits which most distinguished his character and marked his career, the greatest was his universal, wide-spread philanthropy and benevolence. The wretched and distressed who came to solicit his aid, found his presence as freely as the richest and most powerful. In this particular he was ever true to the grand teachings and precepts of Judaism. His charity knew no bounds and he had no regard for money, except for the necessities of life and the relief it afforded others who were in distress. No one knows and no one can ever know the extent of these charities, for they were sealed hermetically in the recesses of his big, manly heart. As simple as a child, he was the embodiment of moral and physical courage. "Suaviter in modo fortiter in re." His benefactions were not confined to Jews, but were outspread to the world; artists, actors, editors, scholars, artisans, and any one struggling in the world's maddening crowd were taken by the hand and helped by Major Noah. Necessarily, he was frequently imposed upon, but he never became weary of well-doing. He was not a believer in human depravity and hence was but too often deceived.

It would burden these pages to detail even a tithe of those acts of Noah's benevolence which became known generally to the public. He was beloved by the Christian clergymen, because of his broad humani-

tarianism and his purity as a man. No one thought more highly of him than the eminent Catholic divine, the late Bishop Hughes, who frequently sought his advice. His very presence, tall, broad-shouldered and erect, inspired respect. His face literally beamed with the benevolence that irradiated his features. There are men of prominence now living, as well as many that have passed away, both Jews and Christians, who owed their success in life to Noah's assistance and advice. His name and fame were heralded throughout the world, and the Jews in and about Palestine looked to him as their friend and apotheosized him as their benefactor. "Omnium gentium, facile princeps." Indeed, they made him, by decree of the Sanhedrin, a prince of the House of Israel, or legitimate successor to the rulers, and this was one of his inspiring motives in his scheme for colonization.

His humor was keen and human. A laughable incident thereof may be given. When coaches were the only public means of going from one part of the city of New York to the other, he was one day in one of these public conveyances which was, as usual, crowded. A lady hailed the coach from the street; it stopped, and in came a woman of portly figure. The Major promptly said: "My dear madam, you can take a seat on my knee," which she as promptly did and occupied the seat the whole distance, the Major in the meantime talking very pleasantly and jocularly with the lady, to which she, in equally good humor, responded. Everyone in the stage was convulsed with laughter, but the real joke only became apparent when, at the end of the journey, the Major very gallantly extended his arm to the lady and accompanied

her away, and it was discovered that the lady was the Major's wife.

Another incident of his humor may be related. While High Sheriff of the County of New York a citizen, small in stature, felt himself aggrieved by some official conduct on the part of the Sheriff, and attempted to cow-hide him. Major Noah being a very large, strong man, wrested the cow-hide from his assailant and picking him up bodily, he carried him on his shoulder and deposited his burden in the jail of which he was the custodian, to the amusement and amid the laughter of everybody. His wit was proverbial. When elected High Sheriff, some dissatisfied and bigoted persons remarked that it had come to a pretty pass for a Jew to hang a Christian. "Pretty Christian, forsooth, who deserves hanging," retorted Major Noah, and this rejoinder silenced the objectors.

Mr. Evart A. Duyckinck, editor of the Literary World, and author of the "Encyclopedia of American Literature," now deceased, published an article in the Literary World, under the caption of "Which was the Jew and Which was the Christian?" Briefly stated, this article narrated the story of himself, a poor young man of literary ability, stranded in New York City, who sought the assistance of two leading editors in an endeavor to sell his manuscript. He was rudely repulsed by one man, and as a last resort applied to the other without the remotest hope of success. Upon explaining his errand, and making known his great pecuniary necessities, this latter asked him to be seated, took his manuscript, turned his back and glanced through it. Finally he tied the manuscript

carefully with a piece of tape, and turning to the young man, said: "You certainly possess literary ability of high order and deserve success. Daily newspapers cannot publish this character of literature for want of space, but be careful of your manuscript; bring it to me early next week, and possibly I may find a purchaser for it." The young man, not prepared for this surprise, expressed his gratitude and left with a happy heart. When he reached his humble lodging he untied the manuscript and from it fluttered a twenty dollar bill. It was indeed a god-send, and he then understood why the editor had tied the roll of manuscript so carefully. He came back at the appointed time, and sure enough, the manuscript had been sold, netting $50, which, it afterward proved, the editor had paid out of his own pocket. From that day the young man's success in the field of literature was assured. The article closed as follows: "Which was the benefactor, the Jew or the Christian? Nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand would say that it was the Jew who repulsed, and not the Christian, who was the benefactor, yet in this instance it was the Christian who repulsed and the Jew the benefactor. That Jew was Major Mordecai Manuel Noah, and the young man he then befriended is now the editor of this paper and author of this article."

On one occasion, a cold bitter, wintry morning, Major Noah was walking up Broadway above Chambers Street, then the location of the large retail dry goods stores. Standing on the pavement, before one of these establishments, was a little girl, clad in rags, and crying. The tears were freezing on her wan and pallid cheeks. "Great heavens!" ejaculated Major

Noah, as he glanced at the waif, "here is a child freezing to death in the sreets of a Christian city, and no one succors." Seizing the child by the hand he rushed into the store, crying, "Shame upon you, gentlemen, to let this poor child perish at your very door! Take her to the stove and permit the poor creature to warm herself!" Everybody knew Major Noah, and his word was a command. Clerks took the child in hand and after she had been warmed sufficiently, Major Noah said: "Order a carriage; I will take the child home with me." A large crowd had meanwhile collected, the carriage came, and just as he started to take the child to it, a well-known New York sporting character came through the crowd, and, placing his hand on Major Noah's shoulder, said: "You do more than your share of this sort of thing. Let me take the child. While I am a gambler, you know me well, and know also that I possess an ample fortune. I promise you on my word of honor as a man I will take this child, rear her tenderly, away from all evil, and be her benefactor and father. Please let me have my wish." Major Noah looked at him for an instant, and realized that he was thoroughly in earnest. Placing the child's hand in his, he said: "Sam Suydam, I will take your promise, and God help you if you break it. That is a great responsibility, and I commit this child to you as you demand." The child was taken off in the carriage by Suydam. He was true to his word; he raised the child as his own, as he had promised. She grew to beautiful womanhood without knowing or suspecting that she had been rescued from death in the streets of a so-called Christian city, nor that her benefactors were Major Noah and Sam

Suydam, the gambler. Major Noah kept himself well advised of the well-being of the child until his death, and when she married a reputable gentleman, Suydam gave her a wedding portion of $40,000. How little the world knows of what transpires in it! Here was the misunderstood Jew, and with him the ostracised gambler, performing a great act of real charity, for which neither claimed credit, both concealing from public knowledge what they had done, but He on High has registered this as well as a thousand other acts which make the whole world kin.

Major Noah was President of the Jewish Charity Organization of New York City, and when that was merged into a B'nai B'rith lodge he was its first President. His house was a constant asylum; the poor Jews, arriving here, unable to speak the English language, sought him before all others. He fed and clothed and secured credit for them, starting out hundreds peddling over the country. It is stated that only in two instances was he ever left to pay the debt for which he had become security, and these defaulters never showed their faces to him again. Several of his beneficiaries were thus enabled to begin the foundations of great fortunes. To recount all those whose success in the various pursuits of life was largely due to Major Noah would be to make a list whose name is legion. He was a man among men, a Jew among Jews, an honor to his country and his race, but, above all, he was an American, proud of his nativity and attached to the free institutions of his country. The Constitution was his shibboleth —the very breath of his nostrils. What was nearest his heart was that every Jew, nay, indeed, every Chris-

tian in the land, should appreciate the great value of a government, the keystone of whose arch is civil and religious liberty.

Major Noah was the last Jew that was buried within the limits of New York City. The epitaph graven on his tomb was written by his friend and follower, Cornelius Matthews, one of the foremost of the national literati, a man whom Major Noah had assisted to climb the ladder of journalistic fame. It reads as follows: "The warm hand is cold, the kindly eye is dim, the generous heart has ceased to beat, for beneath this monument lie the mortal remains of Mordecai Manuel Noah, born in Philadelphia, July 19, 1785, died in New York, March 22, 1851."

As an interesting fact it may be noted that at the wedding of Major Noah's father, General Washington attended and signed the Kesuba. Washington was a warm friend of Robert Phillips, and Major Noah's father is claimed to have served temporarily as an aide-de-camp on his staff.

Major Noah, as is abundantly proven in his editorials, foresaw the Civil War, and advocated the abolition of slavery by laws, gradual in their effect; and had he, in common with other far-seeing statesmen, been heeded, the Civil War with all its horrors would have become impossible.

APPENDIX I

The letter of recall which Commodore Stephen Decatur handed to Major Noah and which is alluded to in the sketch read in part as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

April 25, 1815.

Sir: At the time of your appointment as Consul at Tunis

it was not known that the religion which you profess would form any obstacle to the exercise of your consular functions, in consequence of which the President has deemed it expedient to revoke your commission.

Your obedient servant,

JAMES MONROE.

On the above letter Noah comments as follows in his book of "Travels":

"I paused to reflect on its contents. I was at a loss to account for its strange and unprecedented tenor. My religion an object of hostility? I thought I was a citizen of the United States, protected by the constitution in my religious as well as my civil rights. My religion was known to the Government at the time of my appointment, and it constituted one of the prominent causes why I was sent to Barbary. If, then, any unfavorable events had been created by my religion they should have been first ascertained, and not, acting upon a supposition, upon imaginary consequences, have thus violated one of the most sacred and delicate rights of an American citizen. Admitting, then, that my religion had produced an unfavorable effect, no official notice should have been taken of it; I could have been recalled without placing on file a letter thus hostile to the spirit and character of our institutions. But my religion was not known in Barbary; from the moment of my landing, I had been in the full possession of my Consular functions, respected and feared by the government, and enjoying the esteem and good-will of every resident. What injury could my religion create? I lived like other Consuls; the flag of the United States was displayed on Sundays and Christian holidays; the Catholic Priest who came into my house to sprinkle holy water

and pray, was received with deference, and freely allowed to perform his pious purpose; the bare-footed Franciscan, who came to beg, received alms in the name of Christ; the Greek Bishop, who sent to me a decorated branch of palm on Palm Sunday, received in return a customary donation; the poor slaves, when they wanted a favor came to me; the Jews alone asked nothing. Why, then, am I to be persecuted for my religion? Although no religious principles are known to the constitution, no peculiar worship connected with the government, yet I did not forget that I was representing the United States. What was the opinion of Joel Barlow when writing a treaty for one of the Barbary States? Let the following article, confirmed by the United States Senate, answer: "Article 11th.—As the government of the United States of America is not, in any sense, founded on the Christian religion, as it has, in itself, no character of enmity against the laws, religion, or tranquility of Mussulmans; and as the said states never have entered into any war, or act of hostility against any Mohammedan nation, it is declared by the parties, that no pretext arising from religious principles shall ever produce an interruption of the harmony existing between the two countries." If President Madison was unacquainted with this article in the treaty which, in effect, is equally binding in all the States of Barbary, he should have remembered that the religion of a citizen is not a legitimate object of official notice from the government; and even admitting that my religion was an obstacle, and there is no doubt that it was not, are we prepared to yield the admirable and just institutions of our country at the shrine of foreign bigotry

and superstition? Are we prepared to disfranchise one of our citizens to gratify the intolerant views of the Bey of Tunis? Has it come to this, that the noble character of the most illustrious republic on earth, celebrated for its justice, and the sacred character of its institutions, is to be sacrificed at the behest of a Barbary pirate? Have we then fallen so low? What would have been the consequences, had the Bey known and objected to my religion? He would have learned from me, in language too plain to be misunderstood, that whomever the United States commissions as their representative, he must receive and respect, if his conduct is proper; on that subject I could not have permitted a word to be said. If such a principle is attempted to be established it will lay the foundation for the most unhappy and most dangerous disputes. Foreign nations will dictate to us the religion which our officers at their courts should profess. Now, after having braved the perils of the ocean, residing in a barbarous country without family or relatives, supporting the rights of the nation, hazarding my life from poison and the stiletto, I find my own government sacrificing my credit, violating my rights, insulting my feelings and the religious feelings of a whole nation. Oh, shame! shame!! The course which men of refined or delicate feelings should have pursued, had there been grounds, was an obvious one. The President should have instructed the Secretary of State to have recalled me, and to have said that the causes should be made known to me on my return. The letter that I received should never have been written, and above all, should never have been put on file. But it is not

true that my religion either had or would have produced injurious effects. The Bey of Algiers had appointed a Jew his minister at the court of France; another consul at Marseilles; another at Leghorn. The Treasurer, the interpreter, the Commercial Agent of the Bey at Constantinople, are Jews. In the year 1811 the British government sent Aaron Cordoza, of Gibraltar, a most intelligent and respectable Jew, with a sloop of war to Algiers to negotiate some important point connected with commerce. He was received with deference and succeeded. The first minister from Portugal to Morocco was Abraham Sasportas, a Jew, who formed a treaty and was received with open arms. Ali Bey, of Tunis, sent as ambassador to London Moses Massias, the father of Major Massias, who is at present serving in the army of the United States. Innumerable instances could be produced where the Musselmans have preferred employing a Jew on foreign missions, and had any important dispute arisen requiring power and influence to adjust, my religion should have been known, and my success would have been certain; but I had sufficient power and respect, more than have ever been enjoyed by any Consul before me, and none who succeeds me will ever possess a greater share. It is not necessary for a citizen of the United States to have his faith stamped on his forehead; the name of freeman is a sufficient passport, and my government should have supported me—should have defended my rights—and should not have themselves assailed them. There was something insufferably little in adding the weight of the American government, in violation of the wishes and institutions of the people to crush a race of which many

had fought and bled for American independence, and many had assisted to elevate those very men who had thus treated their rights with indelicate oppression. Unfortunate people, whose faith and constancy alone have been the cause of so much tyranny and oppression, who have given moral laws to the world and who received for reward opprobrium and insult. After this what nation may not oppress them?"

"That the subject of religion should ever have commanded the official notice of the Government of the United States cannot fail to create the greatest surprise, when a reference is had to the Constitution of the United States, and equally so to the enlightened state of the times. In the war for independence the Jews were unanimous in their jealous co-operation, and we find them holding a high rank in the army, and fighting for liberty with a gallantry worthy of the descendants of Joshua, David and the Maccabees. After the adoption of the Constitution we see them on the benches as judges, in the legislatures as members and assisting the government in gloomy periods to regulate and strengthen the financial system. In all the relations of life as father, husbands, and citizens, I persuade myself that they yield to no sect, and they have ever been distinguished for their liberal sentiments towards every denomination of Christians. In the late war* we find many Jews in the ranks as soldiers and holding commissions. We hear of them wounded severely in the battles at the north, and gallantly supporting their country in the south. Surely, it is not too much to expect that under all these cir-

*War of 1812.

cumstances the officers of government will conform to the wishes of the people and treat them with a delicacy becoming freemen.

I herewith subjoin copies of letters addressed from three Presidents of the United States to me, in acknowledgment of an historical discourse respecting the Jews.

Copy of a letter from Thomas Jefferson, Esq., dated,
Monticello, May 28th, 1818.

Sir,—I thank you for the discourse on the consecration of the Synagogue in your city, with which you have been pleased to favor me. I have read it with pleasure and instruction, having learnt from it some valuable facts in Jewish history which I did not know before. Your sect, by its sufferings, has furnished a remarkable proof of the universal spirit of religious intolerance inherent in every sect, disclaimed by all while feeble and practiced by all when in power. Our laws have applied the only antidote to this vice, protecting our religious as they do our civil rights, by putting all on an equal footing. But more remains to be done, for although we are free by law, we are not so in practice; public opinion erects itself into an inquisition, and exercises its office with as much fanaticism as fans the flames of an Auto da fe. The prejudice still scowling on your section of our religion, although the elder one, cannot be unfelt by yourselves; it is to be hoped that individual dispositions will at length mould themselves to the model of the law, and consider the moral basis on which all our religions rest, as the rallying point which unites them in a common interest; while the peculiar dog-

mas branching from it are the exclusive concern of the respective sects embracing them, and no rightful subject of notice to any other; public opinion needs reformation on that point, which would have the other further happy effect of doing away with the hypocritical maxim of "Intus et lubet, foris ut moris." Nothing, I think, would be so likely to effect this, as to your sect particularly, as the more careful attention to education, which you recommend, and which, placing its members on the equal and commanding benches of science, will exhibit them as equal objects of respect and favor. I salute you with great respect and esteem.

(*Signed*) THOMAS JEFFERSON

M. M. NOAH, ESQ.,

Copy of a letter from James Madison, Esq., on the same subject, dated,

Montpelier, May 15, 1818.

Sir,—I have received your letter of the 6th with the eloquent discourse delivered at the consecration of the Synagogue. Having ever regarded the freedom of religious opinions and worship as equally belonging to every sect, and the secure enjoyment of it as the best human provision for bringing all either into the same way of thinking, or into that mutual charity which is the only proper substitute, I observe with pleasure the view you give of the spirit in which your sect partake of the common blessings afforded by our Government and laws.

As your foreign mission took place whilst I was in the administration, it cannot but be agreeable to me to learn that your accounts have been closed in

a manner so favorable to you. And I knew too well the justice and candor of the present executive to doubt that an official preservation will be readily allowed to explanations necessary to protect your character against the effect of any impressions whenever ascertained to be erroneous. It was certain that your religious profession was well known at the time you received your commission, and that, in itself, could not be a motive in your recall.

(*Signed*) JAMES MADISON

Copy of a letter from John Adams, Esq., dated,

Quincy, July 31, 1818.

Sir,—Accept my best thanks for your polite and obliging favour of the 24th and especially for the Discourse inclosed. I know not when I have read a more liberal or a more elegant composition.

You have not extended your ideas of the right of private judgment and the liberty of conscience, both in religion and philosophy, farther than I do. Mine are limited only by morals and propriety.

I have had occasion to be acquainted with several gentlemen of your nation, and to transact business with some of them, whom I found to be men of as liberal minds, as much honor, probity, generosity and good breeding, as any I have known in any sect of religion or philosophy.

I wish your nation may be admitted to all the privileges of citizens in every country of the world. This country has done much. I wish it may do more, and annul every narrow idea in religion, government and commerce. Let the wits joke; the philosophers sneer! What then? It has pleased the Providence of the

"first cause," the universal cause, that Abraham should give religion, not only to Hebrews, but to Christians and Mahometans, the greatest part of the modern civilized world. (*Signed*) JOHN ADAMS

APPENDIX II

ADDITIONAL EXTRACTS FROM NOAH'S BOOK OF TRAVELS

"The following letters were written and transmitted to me, prior to my leaving Tunis, by the public functionaries in that kingdom. Although they served to accompany the passports which were necessary for me to have in passing through Europe on my return home, still, I can consider them in no other light than private communications. I have no permission, nor can I possibly obtain it, from those gentlemen, to give these letters to the world. The consuls, however, were acquainted with every public measure of mine of any importance; and my domestic character was not unknown to them. It is to their benevolence I now appeal for forgiveness in presuming to take the freedom I do with their names.

Copy of a letter from Richard Oglander, Esq., his Britannic Majesty's agent and Consul-General, near the Bey and Regency of Tunis, dated,

September 19, 1815.

My Dear Sir,—I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of the letter with which you honoured me this morning, for the purpose of acquainting me with your intended departure from this place, with the first convenient opportunity.

I flatter myself you will be persuaded this intelligence to me, as I doubt not it will be to the rest of your colleagues and friends here, is most unwelcome, and occasions me very sincere regret; for no one, I assure you, my dear Sir, can entertain a more lively sense, or true esteem, for your many valuable and amiable qualities than I do. However, at the same time that I must be allowed, in common with the rest of your friends, to express my regret at your approaching departure, inasmuch as it will occasion us the loss of an honorable and estimable colleague, yet I cannot but congratulate you, on your being about to quit this miserable country, the embroils of its court, etc.

I beg you will accept my most cordial good wishes for your prosperity and happiness, and for a safe and pleasant return to your native country; and that you will believe me I remain, with the highest esteem and regard,

My dear Sir, your most faithful and obedient servant, (*Signed*) RICHARD OGLANDER

With regard to the passport which you desire, if you will do me the favor to send me a draft of such a one as you think will be useful to you, I will take care to have it prepared for you without loss of time.

To MAJOR NOAH,

Consul-General of the United States of America.

Translation of a note from the Chevalier Devoise, Consul-General and Charge d'Affaires for France, dated,

Tunis, September 19, 1815.

My Dear Mr. Noah,—Never have I delivered a pass-

port more against my inclination than the one which I have the honor herewith to enclose, because it announces that you are going to leave us, when I had promised myself to spend many agreeable moments in your society. Scarce has our acquaintance commenced when you depart and leave me nothing but regret. Nevertheless, I must wish you a good voyage, and all the happiness you merit. Permit me to add the expression of my attachment and most distinguished consideration.

I have the honor to be, etc.

(*Signed*) DEVOISE

Translation of a note from Don Arnoldo Soler, Consul-General of his Catholic Majesty in Tunis.

My Dear Sir,—Enclosed I remit you the passport you desire. Although the opportunity enables me to demonstrate my disposition to comply with your request, it is, nevertheless, painful to be separated from a colleague and friend so estimable as yourself.

Until I have the satisfaction to reiterate, in person, the sentiments of my sincere esteem, I pray God to preserve you many years.

(*Signed*) ARNOLDO SOLER

Tunis, September 20, 1815.

To MAJOR NOAH,

Consul General of the United States.

Translation of a letter from the Chevalier de Martino, Consul-General of his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies.

Tunis, September 20, 1815.

My Dear Friend,—I have been extremely surprised

to hear by your letter that you were determined to leave Tunis. Only the circumstance of my intending to do the same in a few days, makes me feel less unhappy by the absence of a friend, a colleague, and so agreeable a neighbor. Your stay in this place, although short, was sufficient to give the highest opinion of your talents, and penetration in the exercise of your office. Be assured we all appreciate your merits. Your government certainly ought to listen to the voice of justice, and I do not doubt but that my expectations will be accomplished. I wish you a prosperous voyage, and hope to see you in my country, where I shall be able to give you proofs of my friendship and gratitude. Adieu, my friend; remember me always, and rest assured that I shall be forever your sincere friend.

(*Signed*) RENATO DE MARTINO

MR. NOAH,

Consul of the United States.

Copy of a letter from Andrew C. Gierliew, Esquire, his Danish Majesty's Consul-General.

Tunis, September 19, 1815.

Need I tell you, my highly esteemed friend, how sincerely I am afflicted at your departure? My good Mr. Martino, too, will leave me soon, and then I shall be alone, quite alone, in this unhappy country. But I cannot otherwise than highly approve of your firm, manly, and honorable conduct, after what has passed. I always esteemed your character, and it is, and will be a consolation to me in this dreary place, where honor, virtue, and character are the most shocking vices a mortal can possess, to have gained such a

friend, I hope for life and wherever we shall live, as you, my most valued Mr. Noah. Be then as happy, my most sincerely esteemed friend, as you certainly deserve, and as I wish you from all my heart; and let us meet soon again in a less unhappy country, where virtue, honor, and manly open character, are not vices. We shall always meet as friends, and we will dare to say that we lived and acted like men of honor. Remember me as I shall always remember you. Be a friend of my friends, as I shall always be of yours, if they resemble you. Be a friend of my country, as I always was of yours. I send you the passport you require. It is an honor for me to give it to you.

Your sincerely devoted friend,
(*Signed*) GIERLIEW

M. M. NOAH, ESQ.,
Consul of the United States.

Extract of a letter from Richard B. Jones, Esq., Consul of the United States at Tripoli, dated July 31, 1815

I shall always consider it my duty to communicate frequently and freely my sentiments, my opinions, and conduct, to the representatives of our country, whenever an occasion presents; but that duty becomes a pleasure in addressing you, sir, who have displayed a zeal and and firmness unequalled in defence of our rights; reasoned wisely, and acted courageously; and who has beguiled many of my tedious moments in Tripoli by your friendly and invaluable correspondence.

Be assured that in me you will always find a person disposed to go every length to serve my country

and countrymen; and if we can, by our mutual efforts, serve the common cause, we shall not only have effected the object of our mission, but enjoy the pleasing satisfaction of having performed our duty when we stood alone.

VINDICATION.

As already stated, Major Noah was charged with being short in his accounts. The following letter from the Department of State, January 14, 1817, will conclusively prove the falsity of the accusation.

Department of State, January 14, 1817.

Sir,—Your account as Consul of the United States at Tunis has been adjusted at this Department in conformity of the opinion of the Attorney-General of the 30th of December last, of which you have a copy; and a balance of five thousand two hundred and sixteen dollars fifty-seven cents, reported to be due you will be paid to your order, at any time after Congress shall have made the necessary appropriations. A sum of one thousand six hundred and sixty-four dollars, besides a charge of thirty-five per cent. loss on the disbursement of your agent at Algiers, is suspended, for reasons mentioned in the account, of which you have been apprised.

I am, respectfully your obedient servant,

(*Signed*) S. Pleasonton

Mordecai M. Noah, Esq.

The comments on the above by Major Noah conclusively prove the falsity of the accusation:

"Thus ended my connection with the Government, and thus fell to the ground the charge "of going be-

yond orders;" nothing, then, remained of the official charge but my religion, a subject which I had reason to believe the President would have reconciled in a suitable manner, but which, after three years' delay, has not commanded his attention.

"If I have occupied too much space in this work with recapitulating my official concerns, the reader will bear in mind that this is the first attempt since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States to make the religion of a citizen the objection to the possession of office; a principle so foreign to the Constitution, so much at war with the genius and disposition of the people, and so dangerous to the liberties of the country, that citizens cannot be insensible to the new and dreadful features which it exposes; none can hear with indifference this measure of the Government's, and none will turn a deaf ear to the representations of an individual who has sustained an injury.* Governments have a natural propensity to encroach upon the rights of citizens, and if those rights are worthy of being preserved, the utmost caution should be used to guard them with a vigilance that never slumbers. If a letter such as I received in Barbary had been written by order of a sovereign, presuming that a king could do such a wrong, I would have submitted to it without a murmur, knowing the tenure by which I held my office; but my fellow-citizen, the President, to disfranchise me from holding the office of Consul at Tunis when I am eligible to the station which I hold, cannot be viewed but as an assump-

*See post p. 322-3 where Pres. Cleveland and Secretary Bayard are quoted as taking precisely this position in connection with the Keiley incident at the Austrian Court.

tion of power neither known or tolerated. Nothing is easier than to establish a principle in governments and nothing is more difficult than to destroy this principle when it is found to be dangerous. My letter of recall has become a document on file at the Department of State, which hereafter may, without the present explanations, go to disfranchise a whole nation. I felt it to be my duty to clear up this affair, and as I caused my country to be respected abroad, it was not anticipating too much when I claimed a reciprocal respect and protection from the Government.

"I had heard it rumoured that Colonel Lear was the prominent cause of that letter having been written to me; he is now dead, and I have only to express my astonishment at the extraordinary and mysterious influence which he exercised over the Administration. I, however, subsequently gave Mr. Monroe an opportunity to do that justice which I flattered myself he was disposed to do, by requesting that I might be restored to an appointment of equal rank; but no notice was taken of my application. I had no objections to make. The conferring of appointments is a power correctly vested in the Executive; if he thinks proper to exercise that right in accordance with his own feelings, in advancement of his own views, in support of his own attachments or prejudices, it may be lamented for the sake of the public service, but cannot be prevented; the check in the Senate is all that the Constitution provides; still it is expected that the Executive, chosen for a transitory period by the people, will in all cases consult what is most acceptable to the people and creditable to the country.

"It is not necessary for me to say that Mr. Monroe

is emphatically an honest man. I measure men by the aggregate of their virtues and vices—all are liable to error—many pertinaciously adhere to their measures, though they may be manifestly erroneous; and such is the imperfection of our natures, that when a wrong is done, intentionally or accidentally, a second wrong is frequently added in confirmation of the first, if complaint is made or clamour heard. Still, with these errors, the balance is greatly in favor of the President for past services, sincere attachment to country and strict integrity; he has his weak points like other men. When these do not affect the public service or go to establish dangerous doctrines, they are not necessary objects of inquiry; but recurring to the first principles of our Government, there is nothing which will tend more securely to preserve our liberties than freedom of speech and the press, a scrutiny into public measures, and a firm but respectful tone to men in power.

"Mr. Monroe regretted the steps which he had pursued towards me—there was an idea floating on his mind that I had not been well treated, but he only regretted it as it affected him; he had no consideration for my feelings, for my rights or character; he would have been pleased to have arranged the affair in a manner mutually agreeable, but I had not presented myself with that submissive tone, with that 'bondsmen key and bated breath' that he probably expected; he said I threatened to appeal to Congress; he should have been proud to have seen a citizen thus anxious to support his rights and character, and he should have aided, not opposed me, not bent the power of government to crush an individual.

"I have said this much in proof to political opponents, that I am under no obligation to Mr. Monroe, that my support of the Administration is grounded on principle, on nobler motives than personal favours, and as long as he is in the Administration, and his measures are calculated to promote the honour and prosperity of our country, so long will I support him. I have no favours to ask or prejudices to indulge; I have considered it my duty not to labour under suspicions or insinuations, and thus have endeavoured to explain them.

"'The evil which men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones.'

"The subject of our public credit abroad is of material importance to the preservation of our national character, interest and rights. An erroneous idea prevails in the Government that the protest of a bill of exchange drawn by an officer on a foreign station cannot impair the public credit, and if a doubt exists as to the power of the officer or his instructions to draw upon the Government, his bills are protested without ceremony and without any intention to affect his credit or injure his prospects. This is subjecting the nation to loss, to injury of credit, and a charge of bad faith; and while our coffers are overflowing, while our means are more than ample to meet every public exigency, our foreign credit will be on the worst footing and our officers will be backward in affording indispensable facilities to the Government. It is of less consequence if payment of bills is suspended, which are drawn in the United States, for the parties being on the spot can always explain; but this advantage is not possessed by an officer in

a foreign station—his bills may be received and his advices lost; a just and liberal construction of power and authority should always prevail, if not on behalf of the officer, then on behalf of the nation, on behalf of our character and credit.

APPENDIX III

Major Noah's father, Manuel Mordecai Noah, died at New York in 1825, and was buried in the old Jewish Cemetery on Oliver Street. His headstone now forms a portion of the street wall on William Street which was opened through to Chatham Square about 1850. Major Noah's ancestors were originally refugees from the Spanish Inquisition, and included the families of Nunez and Machado. One branch of the family found refuge in France, which gave asylum to the Jewish fugitives from Spain; another branch located in Holland, which country also received them kindly; and still another branch located in England. The French refugees took the name of Noel, and a descendant of that branch was Minister of Public Instruction under the provisional government following the abdication of King Louis Philippe. Major Noah's ancestors emigrated to the American Colonies in 1733 with Governor Oglethorpe, settling at Savannah, Georgia, then part of the Carolinas, and their names are found in the archives of that city among the first settlers. It is stated as a tradition that one of the female members of the emigrating family, then very aged, had both thumbs broken and lacerated from the effect of the thumb-screw, having been thus tortured when a girl by the inquisitors.

When Major Noah visited London, in 1813, as a

paroled prisoner of war, he accidentally met, at a theatre, a young British officer, whose remarkable likeness to the Noah family attracted his attention. Upon introducing himself to the officer he discovered his name to be Noel, and that he was his cousin. In 1831 Lady Amelia Noel, another cousin, then one of the maids in waiting upon Queen Charlotte, visited Major Noah, at New York, and passed several weeks in America.

The Machad family were of noble extraction, their immediate ancestor having been a grandee of Spain, under the Moorish kings, when the Jews of that period were the leaders in sciences, letters and the arts, and contributed largely, as is attested by history, to the grandeur of Spain under the reign of the Moorish kings. That period produced Maimonides, the greatest Jewish law-giver of the age, and one of the trio of Israelites named in order of greatness as marking successive epochs—Moses of old, Moses Ben Maimon and Moses Mendelssohn. Samuel Noah, of Virginia, a first cousin of Major Noah, was graduated from the Military Academy at West Point in the class of 1806, and distinguished himself by gallantry during the war of 1812. At the time of his death, in 1873, at the ripe age of ninety, he was by many years the oldest surviving graduate of West Point. John Moss of Virginia, who was the first private secretary of President John Tyler, was also a first cousin of Major Noah, his mother having been a sister of Major Noah's father.

Major Noah was the president of the "Old Bachelor's Club" of New York City, an organization composed mainly of prominent gentlemen, the elite of the old Knickerbocker families, and which, in its day and

time, was the foremost social organization of that metropolis. The shibboleth of this club was positive and perpetual celibacy. Judge of the consternation of its membership when, in 1826, its president married Miss Rebecca Esther Jackson, a Jewess renowned alike for her amiable qualities and personal beauty. The club at once disbanded and was never reorganized, many of its leading members concluding to follow the matrimonial example.

The fruit of this union was six sons and one daughter, Manuel M., Jacob J., Robert P., Zipporah, Daniel J., Henry and Lionel J. Noah. Of these only Jacob J., Robert P., and Lionel J. survive. The eldest son, Manuel M., was a journalist and author of considerable reputation, whose field of literary success was at San Francisco, California, where, for twenty years, he was the chief editor of the Alta Californian.

Jacob J., Robert P. and Lionel J. Noah are lawyers and counsellors of the Supreme Court of the United States, the former resident at Washington, and the two latter at New York City. Henry Noah resided in South Carolina and was prominent in the Republican control of that State, where he held the office of Collector of U. S. Internal Revenue for several years. He was a delegate to the Republican National Conventions of 1872, 1876, 1880 and 1884. He served in the War of the Rebellion as an officer of the Thirty-seventh New York Volunteers.

Zipporah married Mr. Charles L. Lawrence, a merchant of New York City. Both she and her husband have recently deceased. Daniel J. died in boyhood from the results of an accidental injury.

Jacob J. Noah located in Minnesota when the ter-

ritorial organization was formed, and filled acceptably various judicial and legislative preferments. In 1857 he declined the nomination for Delegate in Congress to accept the position of Clerk of the Supreme Court of the State, to which office he was elected by a large majority. He served during the war as an officer in the Second Minnesota Infantry, the regiment which contributed so largely to the military fame of Gen. George H. Thomas in winning the first victory of the Union arms, the battle of Mill Springs, Ky.

After the war he located in Tennessee, where he was foremost among the leaders of the reconstruction movement and the adoption of the free State Constitution of 1865. He was appointed by Governor Brownlow one of the Attorneys-General and Chancellors of the State, and as Attorney-General successfully prosecuted the trial of Judge Frazier, who was impeached for attempting judicially to prevent the assembling of a quorum of the Tennessee Legislature, convened to ratify or reject the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Judge Noah holds the medal of honor conferred by the famous Seventh Regiment of New York for long and faithful military service, besides the insignia of the society of the Army of the Cumberland, Grand Army of the Republic, and other organizations of like military character. At present he is a member of the U. S. Board of Pension Appeals, which, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, passes judicially as the court of last resort, upon all appeals from the action of the Commissioner of Pensions in granting or rejecting claims for pensions and bounty lands. He is prominent in political, Masonic and journalistic

circles at Washington, and a member of the famous "Gridiron Club."

The career of Robert P. Noah has been remarkably adventurous. He served in the Mexican War as a mere youth, and went to California with Colonel Stevenson's regiment of occupation, which was dispatched to San Francisco around Cape Horn. He accompanied Gen. George B. McClellan, then a Captain of Engineers, to Vancouver at the time of the boundary dispute with Great Britain, and assisted in locating and surveying the boundary line between the United States and the British possessions.

Upon the breaking out of the Crimean War he joined the British forces as a volunteer aide-de-camp to Lord Raglan, and served throughout that memorable campaign, receiving a score or more of medals and decorations, conferred for conspicuous bravery upon the survivors of that war. In 1857 President Buchanan appointed him U. S. Naval Agent at Rio Janiero, which position he held until 1862, when the naval depot there was abandoned in consequence of the Civil War. Upon the defection to the Confederacy of Richard Kidder Meade, then our Minister to Brazil, who hauled down the American flag, young Noah took possession of the Legation building and United States property, re-hoisted the flag of his country, and sought to arrest Mr. Meade for treason; the latter, however, managed to escape.

Returning to the United States, Noah studied law, was admitted to practice, and, for ten years, was one of the Corporation Attorneys of New York, preferring that position to a seat in Congress, the nomination

for which he declined in 1882, although such nomination was then equivalent to an election.

Lionel J. Noah studied law with Mr. Henry Morrison, of New York, a leading lawyer of the Jewish faith, was admitted to practice, and has always followed that profession, declining to hold any political or other office. He has attained reputation as a "case" and office lawyer.

CHURCH AND STATE*

LADIES and Gentlemen,—I might almost be presumptuous enough to say Friends, for I have had the distinguished honor on several occasions of speaking to the citizens of Newark, and always with pleasure to myself, if not with profit to those who did me the honor to come. The subject of my discourse tonight is one fraught with momentous importance, not only to the citizens of this country, but to every lover of liberty and free institutions throughout the world.

I invite your closest attention to the brief remarks which I will make, for it concerns your personal, political and religious welfare as much as it does mine. It concerns not only your own, but your children and children's children's welfare in the future. The student of history has found no pages stained with more blood, suffering, crime and persecution, than those that contain the discussions and differences arising from this very subject about which I am speaking. The misfortunes of every country have had their origin, continuance and culmination in the form of religious differences arising from the doctrine that Church and State are one. The causes that led to the founding of our country arose from the differences created by the persecution in foreign lands, driving to these shores men and women who were seeking liberty of conscience and a "disestablishment" of Church and State. Every fibre of our being in this

*Address delivered at Newark, N. J., March, 1893.

country, every section of the Constitution, all the institutions that have been created under the Constitution, have had their origin, being, and vitality from the principle that Church and State shall be forever divided,—never united. It is the foundation upon which the temple of American liberty has been built. It is the only principle that liberty-loving people can maintain with safety to themselves and to the country they love and revere. When three years ago I visited Europe, I saw at Nuremburg and Salzburg, in rooms specially kept for that purpose, instruments of torture of mediaeval times,—the dark ages; those instruments which were used for the purpose of bringing people to reason; "The Virgin's Kiss" and a hundred other instruments of barbarism and Christianity, which were used upon the limbs and brains of men and women for the purpose of conforming them to one doctrine, and that doctrine the unity of Church and State. While standing there, I thanked God that a new era had dawned, that a new civilization existed, and the rising sun of American liberty was shining gloriously in the Western hemisphere. And I hoped then, as I hope now, and as I trust all our generation will live to see, that the day of torture and differences will not arise in this country, but that the liberty created by our fathers, the principles sown so deep, will never be disturbed, but live on in that spirit of fraternity and humanity without which this country, nor any other country, can exist with safety.

But you will ask,—"Are we in any danger here?" "Why this declamation on the part of the speaker?" Because all things have an origin and a birth, and there has been born in this country, and is insidiously

growing, a feeling that in spirit and in action is in direct violation to the principles that animated the founders.

Years and years ago, as long as sixty-four years ago, the same doctrine agitated the nation in regard to the Sabbath, which agitates the American people now,—the closing of public buildings and discontinuing the carrying of mail on Sunday. Three committees of Congress reported on the petitions to close United States mails on Sunday. Recently I resuscitated these important forgotten documents of Congress, from the Senate Library at Washington, two of them prepared by Col. Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky as Chairman of the Senate and House Committees on the post-office, respectively, and it was largely by reason of his fame as their draftsman that he was elected Vice President of the United States.*

*Strangely enough, these important reports have been almost forgotten, though, as hereafter pointed out in this note, they attracted so much attention at the time of their preparation in 1829-1830, and were so generally reprinted in the newspapers and discussed, that they were regarded as ranking among our most important state papers. They are well described in a biography of Col. Richard M. Johnson by A. Langworthy, published in 1843, soon after his term of office as Vice-President (1837-1841) expired, as follows:

"One of his last acts in the Senate has raised to his fame a monument more enduring than a statue of marble. From every part of the country petitions were sent to Congress, praying for a law prohibiting the transportation of the mails on Sundays. These petitions were referred to a committee, of which Col. Johnson was chairman. On behalf of the committee, he drew up that luminous report, commonly called 'The Sunday Mail Report,' which was presented to the Senate in January, 1829. This is unquestionably the best document ever written on the subject of religious liberty, as it best defines the rights of conscience and where the just power of human legislation ends. The world has been so long and so generally subject to legislative control in matters of religion, that

Mr. Johnson, of Kentucky, made the following report:

(*Communicated to the U. S. Senate Jan.* 19, 1829; see Am. State Papers, Class VII p. 211)

"The Committee to whom was referred the several petitions on the subject of mails on the Sabbath, or the 1st day of the week, Report:

That some respite is required from the ordinary vo-

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the right has scarcely been questioned when the truth of the religion which it imposed is admitted. Most persons who oppose legislative interferences, oppose it on the ground of disbelief in the religion which it recognizes; and most persons who believe in the religion which the State recognizes, admit the right of that recognition. But the report which Col. Johnson prepared takes a more correct view of the subject. It admits any system of religion to be true or untrue, without any power on the part of the legislature to inquire; and it requires the legislature to protect every person in the faith and obedience of any religion, whether true or false; but it denies the right of the legislature to provide for the furtherance of any religion. It confines the legislative power to the regulation of civil institutions, without the right of intermeddling with religious institutions of any kind, whether true or untrue.

"The report was received by bursts of applause in every part of the Union. It was published in every newspaper. It was elegantly printed on satin, and set in frames for parlor ornaments; and since the Declaration of Independence, it is doubtful whether a public document was ever issued which received equal approbation and applause.

"The following year, Col. Johnson was in the House of Representatives, and was made chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Post Roads. Many petitions were still forwarded to Congress, praying for the prohibition of mail transportation on the Sabbath, which were referred to that committee; and it fell to the lot of Col. Johnson, as its chairman, to prepare their report. He therefore drew up another report which was presented to the House in March, 1830, of similar import. This is called, 'Col. Johnson's second Sunday Mail Report.' It establishes the same principles which are contained in the first, though it varies in detail just enough to make of it a different report, still interesting and enlarging the views of the reader, while discussing and confirming the same immutable truth, that man is amenable to none but his Creator for his religion, and that legislative bodies are designed to rep-

cations of life, is an established principle, sanctioned by the usage of all nations, whether Christian or Pagan. One day in seven has also been determined upon as the proportion of time; and in conformity with the wishes of the great majority of citizens of this country, the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, has been set apart to that object. The principle has received the sanction of the national legislature, so far as to admit a suspension of all

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resent the political views of their constituents, in which the minority must submit to the majority, and not their religious views, in which no submission is required; but the consciences of a minority, however small, are as sacred as those of the majority."

Scarcely less eulogistic was J. C. Matther of New York, in a eulogy of Col. Johnson delivered shortly after his death, and reprinted in the "Democratic Review," Vol. 28 (N. S.), pp. 376-381, nearly half of which was devoted to the two reports. They were all officially reprinted in "American State Papers," Class VII, pp. 211, 229, 212, the McKean report having been the companion report in the House which followed the Johnson Senate Report. Since Mr. Wolf reprinted them in this address, they were printed in full in Wm. A. Blakely's "American State Papers Bearing on Sunday Legislation," issued by the "Religious Liberty Association." In the U. S. Senate, they were debated by U. S. Senator Frelinghuysen (See Chambers' biography of him, page 71 et seq.) in opposition in 1829, while Edward Livingston, then Senator from Louisiana, delivered an important address in support of Col. Johnson's position.

A useful compilation of Sunday law decisions prepared by Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg, was published in the "American Jewish Year Book for 5669 (1908-9), entitled "Sunday Laws of the United States and Judicial Decisions having Reference to Jews" (pp. 152-189), continued since then in the "Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society." As was stated by Mr. Justice Field as spokesman of the United States Supreme Court in Soon Hing vs. Crowley, 113 United States, 703, 710: *"Laws setting aside Sunday as a day of rest are upheld, not from any right of the government to legislate for the promotion of religious observance, but from its right to protect all persons from the physical and moral debasement which comes from uninterrupted labor."* An admirable history of the constitutional development of religious liberty in the United States, its scope and limits, was contained in the

public business on that day, except in cases of absolute necessity, or of great public utility. This principle the committee would not wish to disturb. If kept within its legitimate sphere of action, no injury can result from its observance. It should, however, be kept in mind that the proper object of government is, to protect all persons in the enjoyment of their religious, as well as civil rights; and not to determine for any, whether they shall esteem one day above another, or esteem all days alike wholly.

We are aware, that a variety of sentiment exists among the good citizens of this nation, on the subject of the Sabbath day; and our government is designed for the protection of one, as much as for another. The Jews, who in this country are as free as Christians, and entitled to the same protection from the laws, derived their obligation to keep the Sabbath day from the Fourth Commandment of their decalogue, and in conformity with that injunction, pay religious homage to the seventh day of the week, which we call Saturday. One denomination of Christians among us, justly celebrated for their piety, and certainly as good citizens as any other class, agree with the Jews in the moral obligation of the Sabbath, and observe the same day. There are also Christians among us, who derive not their obligation to observe the Sabbath from the decalogue, but regard the Jewish Sabbath as abrogated. From the example of the Apostles of Christ, they have chosen

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leading decision of the United States Supreme Court regarding prohibition of the Mormon practice of polygamy in the federal territories, in *Reynolds vs. United States,* 98 *United States,* 145, written by Chief Justice Waite.—Editors.

the first day of the week, instead of that day set apart in the decalogue, for their religious devotions. These have generally regarded the observance of the day as a devotional exercise, and would not more readily enforce it upon others, than they would enforce secret prayer or devout meditations. * * * With these different religious views, the committee are of opinion that Congress cannot interfere. It is not legitimate province of the legislature to determine what religion is true or what false. Our government is a civil, and not a religious, institution. Our Constitution recognizes in every person, the right to choose his own religion, and to enjoy it freely, without molestation. Whatever may be the religious sentiments of citizens, and however variant, they are alike entitled to protection from the government, so long as they do not invade the rights of others.

The transportation of the mail on the first day of the week, it is believed, does not interfere with the rights of conscience. The petitioners for its discontinuance appear to be actuated from a religious zeal, which may be commendable if confined to its proper sphere; but they assume a position better suited to an ecclesiastical, than to a civil, institution. They appear, in many instances, to lay it down as an axiom, that the practice is a violation of the law of God. Should Congress, in their legislative capacity, adopt the sentiment, it would establish the principle, that the Legislature is a proper tribunal to determine what are the laws of God. It would involve a legislative decision in a religious controversy; and on a point in which good citizens may honestly differ in opinion, without disturbing the peace of society, or endanger-

ing its liberties. If this principle is once introduced, it will be impossible to define its bounds. Among all the religious persecutions with which almost every page of modern history is stained, no victim ever suffered, but for the violation of what government denominated the law of God. To prevent a similar train of evils in this country, the Constitution has wisely withheld from our government the power of defining the Divine Law. It is a right reserved to each citizen; and while he respects the equal rights of others, he cannot be held amenable to any human tribunal for his conclusions.

Extensive religious combinations, to effect a political object, are, in the opinion of the committee, always dangerous. This first effort of the kind calls for the establishment of a principle, which, in the opinion of the committee, would lay the foundation for dangerous innovations upon the spirit of the Constitution, and upon the religious rights of the citizens. If admitted, it may be justly apprehended that the future measures of government will be strongly marked, if not eventually controlled, by the same influence. All religious despotism commences by combination and influence; and when that influence begins to operate upon the political institutions of a country, the civil power soon bends under it; and the catastrophe of other nations furnishes an awful warning of the consequence. * * * If the principle is once established, that religion, or religious observances, shall be interwoven with our legislative acts, we must pursue it to its ultimatum. We shall, if consistent, provide for the erection of edifices for the worship of the Creator, and for the support of Chris-

tian ministers, if we believe such measures will promote the interests of Christianity. It is the settled conviction of the committee, that the only method of avoiding these consequences, with their attendant train of evils, is to adhere strictly to the spirit of the Constitution, which regards the general government in no other light than that of a civil institution, wholly destitute of religious authority.

What other nations call religious toleration, we call religious rights. They are not exercised in virtue of governmental indulgence, but as rights, of which government cannot deprive any portion of citizens, however small. Despotic power may invade those rights, but justice still confirms them. Let the national legislature once perform an act which involves the decision of a religious controversy, and it will have passed its legitimate bounds. The precedent will then be established, and the foundation laid for that usurpation of the Divine prerogative in this country, which has been the desolating scourge to the fairest portions of the old world. Our Constitution recognizes no other power than that of persuasion, for enforcing religious observances. Let the professors of Christianity recommend their religion by deeds of benevolence—by Christian meekness—by lives of temperance and holiness. Let them combine their efforts to instruct the ignorant—to relieve the widow and the orphan—to promulgate to the world the gospel of their Saviour, recommending its precepts by their habitual example: government will find its legitimate object in protecting them. It cannot oppose them, and they will not need its aid. Their moral influence will then do infinitely more to advance the

true interests of religion, than any measures which they may call on Congress to enact.

The petitioners do not complain of any infringement upon their own rights. They enjoy all that Christians ought to ask at the hand of any government—protection from all molestation in the exercise of their religious sentiments.

Resolved, That the Committee be discharged from the further consideration of the subject."

Mr. Johnson, of Kentucky, from the Committee on the Post Offices and Post Roads, to which had been referred petitions and remonstrances against the transportation and opening of the public mail on the Sabbath day, made the following report: (*Report to House of Representatives, March 4th,* 1830; American State Papers, Class VII p. 229):

"Congress acts under a constitution of delegated and limited powers. The committee look in vain to that instrument for a delegation of power authorizing this body to inquire and determine what part of time, or whether any, has been set apart by the Almighty for religious exercises; on the contrary, among the few prohibitions which it contains, is one that prohibits a religious test; and another, which declares Congress shall pass no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. The committee might here rest the argument, upon the ground that the question referred to them, does not come within the cognizance of Congress....And as the opposers of Sunday mails disclaim all intention to unite Church and State, the committee do not feel disposed to impugn their motives; and whatever may be advanced in oppo-

sition to the measure, will arise from the fears entertained of its fatal tendency to the peace and happiness of the nation. The catastrophe of other nations furnished the framers of the constitution a beacon of awful warning, and we have evinced the greatest care in guarding against the same evil....

In our individual character, we all entertain opinions, and pursue corresponding practice upon the subject of religion. However diversified these may be, we all harmonize as citizens, while each is willing that the other should enjoy the same liberty which he claims for himself. But in our representative character, our individual character is lost. The individual acts for himself; the representative for his constituents. He is chosen to represent their political and not their religious, views; to guard the rights of man; not to restrict the rights of conscience. Despots may regard their subjects as their property, and usurp the divine prerogative of prescribing their religious faith. But the history of the world furnishes the melancholy demonstration, that the disposition of one man, to coerce the religious homage of another, springs from unchastened ambition, rather than a sincere devotion to any religion. The principles of our Government do not recognize in the majority, any authority over the minority, except in matters which regard the conduct of man to his fellowman. A Jewish monarch, by grasping the holy censer, lost both his sceptre and his freedom; a destiny so little to be envied, may be the lot of the American people, who hold the sovereignty of power, if they, in the person of their representatives, shall attempt to reunite, in the remotest degree, Church and State.

From the earliest period of time, religious teachers have attained great ascendancy over the minds of the people; and, in every nation, ancient or modern, whether Pagan, Mohammedan or Christian, have succeeded in the incorporation of their religious tenets with the political institutions of their country. The Persian idols, the Grecian oracles, the Roman auguries and the modern priesthood of Europe, have all, in their turn, been the subject of popular adulation, and the agents of political deception. If the measure recommended should be adopted, it would be difficult for human sagacity to foresee how rapid would be the succession, or how numerous the train of measures which might follow, involving the dearest rights of all—the rights of conscience. It is perhaps fortunate for our country, that the proposition should have been made at this early period, while the spirit of the revolution yet exists in full vigor. Religious zeal enlists the strongest prejudices of the human mind; and, when misdirected, excites the worst passions of our nature, under the delusive pretext of doing God service. Nothing so infuriates the heart to deeds of rapine and blood; nothing is so incessant in its toils; so persevering in its determinations; so appalling in its course; or so dangerous in its consequences. The equality of rights secured by the constitution may bid defiance to mere political tyrants; but the robe of sanctity too often glitters to deceive. The constitution regards the conscience of the Jew as sacred as that of the Christian; and gives no more authority to adopt a measure affecting the conscience of a solitary individual, than that of a whole community. That representative who would violate this principle, would lose his delegated

character, and forfeit the confidence of his constituents. If Congress shall declare the first day of the week holy, it will not convince the Jew, nor the Sabbatarian. It will dissatisfy both; and, consequently, convert neither. Human power may extort vain sacrifices; but Deity alone can command the affections of the heart. It must be recollected that in the earliest settlement of this country, the spirit of persecution which drove the pilgrims from their native home, was brought with them to their new habitations; and that some Christians were scourged, and others put to death, for no other crime than dissenting from the dogmas of their rulers.....

With the exception of the United States, the whole human race, consisting, it is supposed, of eight hundred millions of rational beings, is in religious bondage; and, in reviewing the scenes of persecution which history everywhere presents, unless the committee could believe that the cries of the burning victim, and the flames by which he is consumed, bear to heaven a grateful incense, the conclusion is inevitable, that the line cannot be too strongly drawn between Church and State. If a solemn act of legislation shall, in one point, define the law of God, or point out to the citizen one religious duty, it may, with equal propriety, proceed to define every part of divine revelation; and enforce every religious obligation, even to the forms and ceremonies of worship; the endowment of the Church, and the support of the clergy.

It was with a kiss that Judas betrayed his Divine Master, and we should all be admonished,—no matter what our faith may be—that the rights of conscience, cannot be so successfully assailed as under the pre-

text of holiness. Christianity made its way into the world in opposition to all human governments. Banishment, tortures, and death, were inflicted in vain to stop its progress. But many of its professors, as soon as clothed with political power, lost the meek spirit which their creed inculcated, and began to inflict on other religions, persecutions more aggravated than those which their own apostles had endured. The ten persecutions of pagan emperors, were exceeded in atrocity by the massacres and murders perpetrated by Christian hands; and in vain shall we examine the records of Imperial tyranny for an engine of cruelty equal to the "Holy Inquisition." Every religious sect, however meek in its origin, commenced the work of persecution as soon as it acquired political power. The framers of the Constitution recognized the eternal principle, that man's relation with his God is above human legislation, and his rights of conscience inalienable. Reasoning was not necessary to establish this truth; we are conscious of it in our own bosoms. It is this consciousness, which in defiance of human laws, has sustained so many martyrs in tortures and in flames. They felt that their duty to God was superior to human enactments, and that man could exercise no authority over their consciences; it is an inborn principle which nothing can eradicate.

The bigot, in the pride of his authority, may lose sight of it, but strip him of his power; prescribe a faith to him which his conscience rejects; threaten him in turn with the dungeon and the faggot; and the spirit which God has implanted in him, rises up in reask that government should recognize and observe bellion and defies you. Did the primitive Christians

their religious institutions? All they asked was toleration; all they complained of was persecution. What did the Protestants of Germany, or the Huguenots of France, ask of their Catholic superiors? Toleration. What do the persecuted Catholics of Ireland ask of their oppressors? Toleration.

Do not all men in this country enjoy every religious right which martyrs and saints have asked? Whence, then, the voice of complaint? Who is it, that in the full enjoyment of every principle which human laws can secure, wishes to arrest a portion of the principles from his neighbor?"

Mr. Samuel McKean, of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, to which the subject had been referred, made the following report: (Communicated to the House of Representatives Feb. 3, 1829; see Am. State Papers, Class VII, p. 212):

* * * "The Federal Government was formed for civil and not religious purposes. The functions which belong to it still have been discharged within the sphere of its operations, in regulating the civil concerns of the nation. It is very properly inhibited from establishing a religious test, or in any manner interfering with the rights of conscience. * * * It is not considered, by the committee, that the petitioners ask the introduction of any new principle into our laws, but the extension of one which has already been recognized. In the policy of the measure desired, the committee believe the petitioners are mistaken, but they do not consider the attempt made by them as tending to the justly odious combination of Church and State."

That doctrine of sixty-four years ago, so manfully stated, is good doctrine today, and why? Because it is right, because it is just: the Church has functions, noble and glorious functions,—let it discharge them in the sphere of its own influence and within the radius of its own surroundings, but let it keep its hands off the Constitution of the United States, and everything that pertains to its political destiny. This concerns it not. It is simply sowing dissension, breeding discord and throwing a fire-brand into the holy of holies of American institutions, which, if persisted in, not only threatens, but will destroy all that is dear and endeared to us.

Look at your Chicago Fair legislation! We have fallen into an era, not of statesmanship, but of truckling toadies, who are afraid of every crank that goes to the polls. What has the Sunday closing to do with Congress? Are these people statesmen? Were they statesmen, they would know that the welfare of the humblest individual is not only his wealth, but his health and his moral and intellectual education; that the opening of the Fair on Sunday to the laboring classes would be worth more to them than all the Sundays they have ever spent in the usual manner. It affords them education, culture and refinement. The laborer takes his wife and children there, and sees grouped before him specimens of the thriving industry and genius of the whole world. The American laborer as an individual, or in a body, is industrious, intelligent, and quick to comprehend and appreciates all he sees. During the week days he is busy trying to make an honest living; on Sunday let him go in the morning to his Church, pay his de-

votion to God, but what harm can there possibly come of it, if in the afternoon he goes to the Fair? It might keep him away from places which would take away his earnings, perhaps even his intellect and standing in society. This these statesmen do not consider, and yet they pose as saviours of the people.

What has the Supreme Court done recently? It has handed down a decision that "this is a Christian Government."* I ask you in fairness "What is a Christian government?" "Is a Christian government one that is founded on the belief of Christ, or on any other belief?" I think not. I believe Jefferson, Madison, Washington, Franklin, Paine and other leaders and lights of the glorious past certainly knew what they were doing when they were founding this government. They did not call it a Christian government. They called it an American government, for all the people in the world to worship their God as they pleased, that no legislature should interfere, and nothing should prevent them from worshipping in a republic what they believed to be right, proper and just. (Applause.)

And yet the Supreme Court judges have declared this a Christian Government!

Fortunately we lawyers know that law is simply the last decision of the last judge. That is all. Tomorrow another decision, and then the law is changed. But I am not troubled in that direction as much as I am by the legislation that has been passed, and from the fact that societies are springing up all over the United States, asking for a union of Church and

* See fuller analysis of this decision in the following paper pages 186-8.

State, forgetting the dangers that are connected with their demand, forgetting their own history, forgetting the origin of the republic, forgetting that history repeats itself, and that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. (Applause.)

It remains for us, not as Jews, for we introduce no doctrine in the State; we do not claim to be a State within a State, but it behooves us, as thinkers, as philosophers, as men who love liberty, because we hate slavery and persecution, because we have been the victims of this very spirit that we denounce; it behooves us as American citizens, who have at last found a home, and who are doing everything we can to bring within the influence of American institutions, those of our brethren and those of other nationalities who have been persecuted in other lands; it behooves us to be on the alert and do our duty; to teach our children their duty; to distinguish as to what is right, what is just and what is proper. That when our Christian friends ask of us the recognition of Sunday, from a national standpoint, the introduction of sectarian song or bibles in the public schools, which are kept up with the money of the whole people, that we remain firm to our convictions, and endeavor to enable them to perceive that they are laying the foundation for dissension; that they are doing violence to the spirit and genius of American institutions. We must teach them that, and no class of American citizens has a better right. We know what liberty means; we know how to appreciate it; we know what safety there is in the separate service of these two great factors,—Church and State,—how much good can be

accomplished by each, and how much calamity will ensue by the blending of the two.

And the Jews, the minority, which has had to suffer for all the misdeeds and misdemeanors of the majority, will simply be between them, between the upper and lower millstones, and suffer all the calamities that the others have caused, without any chance of redress, except that example which we have furnished from time immemorial, in being patient, forbearing and long-suffering.

Now what can be expected of a Christian nation thus differing, where there is no unity of doctrine, only unity of purpose, to introduce into the Constitution, into the laws and into the enactments, springing from those laws. purposes which are all right in their respective churches, which may suit them, but do not suit us, do not suit the free-thinker and non-Christian (who is as good a citizen as those who believe in the doctrine), who pays his taxes, who is honorable in the highest extent, who rears his family to be good and virtuous members of society, and who has a right to be under the dominion of the American law, administered for the State solely? It is high time to cry "Halt," it is high time that from every independent pulpit of the land, and from every rostrum where brain can make itself felt, and where physical force has the power of moral enforcement, I say, it is high time that the American people were called to a realization of the dangers that are threatening us. This ought not be permitted to go on, if the American republic is to live and be perpetuated.

We have been in every sense of the word the favored nation of God. One or the other trifling defect has

occurred to mar the prospect, but taking it all together, this country has been prosperous, has been happy, has been the beacon-light, which has warned other nations of the dangers which surround them, and, therefore, no citizen, no patriot, no thinker, no true American, can allow these dangerous movements, these bitter and public declarations, to go on without uttering a warning, a protest, in the name of the founders, a protest in the name of the American people, a protest in the name of the future American whose birthright is in danger and whose liberties are invaded. (Applause.)

It is time for us to think of this now. Not to go on in the pursuit of pleasure, not to think, "Well, that is well enough. We have been happy so long, we have had no trouble, Mr. Wolf sees very darkly. Come, that is all right. Let us have the next song and the next dance, let us play at the club, we will go to the theater as usual, we will have all the fun we want." Is that to be the spirit that is to animate the American people? Is that what we are created for? It is our bounden duty to care for the future, just as much as our ancestors cared for us. We are here to create anew, to infuse into the fires that are still burning glowingly, as much patriotism, as much love of country as ever our founders did. It is our bounden duty as citizens of Jewish faith to pay our tribute and devotion to this country in which we are so happy.

Considering the well known praise and utterances of the present President, Grover Cleveland, backed up as it was by his inaugural message, delivered on March 4th, of this year, it was more than surprising

that even he should fall a victim to the very spirit which he had denounced, that is to say, paternalism of government.

The Inaugural Committee, of this city, who were in charge of the ceremonies, represented the citizens of Washington, irrespective of party. They had placed in their hands the Pension Office Building in which the Inaugural Ball and Concerts were to take place. They had arranged for a Sacred Concert to take place on Sunday, the 5th of March, but which concert, unfortunately, did not take place. President-elect Grover Cleveland, the enemy of paternalism, stated by telegraph that the sacred Sunday Concert did not meet with his approval in the Pension Office Building, and which statement, to make it more glaring, was based on a petition sent by the ministers of the Gospel of that city. Thus the idol of the hour joined hands with the friends of Church and State, thus proving that even so strong a character, which he undoubtedly is, as the President of the United States, is in fear of the church.

When coming down the Rigi some years ago and entering the steamer that plows the "Lake of the four Cantons," on its way to fair Lucerne, the sun had just set in the west, the moon in its first quarter was rising, and that glorious sheen of which poets have sung and artists depicted, in glowing colors was seen, the glow of the Alps. The steamer was crowded with men, women and children, and no one could help, in looking back at that grand scene, the Alps, all aglow with the radiance of the sun, but think that there was a God in nature and nature in God. Every one bowed their heads in reverence, and in sublime

admiration, looking back at that pageant of color and light.

So we, the American people, descending from the mountains of our prosperity and entering the ship of state that plows the ocean of our happiness and unity, must look backward at what has been accomplished, and feel that glow of admiration and thankfulness for all that the American republic has done for our welfare, and for the struggling nations throughout the world. Let that picture be impressed upon our minds, let it find responsive echo in our hearts, let every pulsation of our being be directed to not only looking back at what has been accomplished, but to turn our faces steadily towards the rising sun of the future, so that when that future comes, our children and their children will be as ready to battle for the rights of the human family, independent of Church and only for the State, as those who founded the American republic. And let us Jews remember that as Moses was the law-giver of the world, and as we gave to the world religion and philosophy, so let us continue to show to the nations the sublime example of courage, patience and yet of manliness, the example of love of justice, of truth and of undying devotion to liberty as exemplified in the American republic. (Applause.)

THE BIBLE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS [1905]

To the Honorable Board of Education, Washington, D. C.

THANKS to your courtesy and kind permission. I beg leave to present to you a statement of the objections against the teaching of religion in the public schools as advocated by some of the citizens of Washington, at a meeting held recently and of which you have been informed officially. In doing this, I am acting not only as a citizen of the United States, but also as Chairman of the "Committee on Civil Rights" of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. In neither capacity do I wish it understood that I am acting as a sectarian, but pure and simple as a citizen of this great Republic, whose first and only thought at all times is to conserve the unity and integrity of our institutions, and to prevent, either by legislation or by regulation, any infringement or intrusion into its sacred rights which are granted to every citizen by virtue of the Constitution of the United States and the laws of the respective states.

The advocates of the proposition to legislate, by rule, religion into the public schools, claim that they have no desire to unite church and state. I suppose they do not consider the step at this time wise or opportune; that would naturally come later, if they are successful in the innovation now proposed, for it is a self-evident proposition that any regulation or legis-

lation that looks to the abridgement of any civil right on the part of the citizen, especially in the matter of tuition in the public schools, is a step toward bringing into closer union church and state, and therefore whatever argument is advanced by the opponents of this contemplated teaching is based upon the broad lines of separation of church and state, and it would indeed be an insult to your intelligence and your patriotism to suppose for a moment that you could be so indifferent to the history of your country and to its perpetuation that you would favor any scheme or plan that would precipitate into the public schools a discussion which for centuries has produced the greatest prejudice and caused needless wars with all their attendant miseries.

In the language of an eminent jurist, a resident of the city of Washington, who has written to me within the past few days, it is simply "opening the box of Pandora," and while already suffering from innovations and infractions which never should have been made by the Board of Education of our city, worse conditions would ensue, and from what is now simply *tolerated,* we would be compelled to *endure,* unless legal steps were taken to bring the matter to the highest tribunal of our land, as to the right of any appointed or elected board to invade the privileges of the individual citizen in the matter of conscience or the teaching of religion in the public schools, and which schools belong to all citizens and cannot be arrogated or claimed by any particular portion thereof.

Stephen Girard was wise in his day and generation, not through lack of appreciation of religion or morals, but because of it. His will distinctly stated that

no religious teaching should be had in that great college. Indeed, he went a step further—that no minister of any creed should be allowed to preach therein, so as to leave each student entirely free and independent in matters of belief. And I am within the bounds of truth and statistical history when I state that among the thousands of students who have been taught in that college, and have gone into the outer walks of American life, there is no record except of two who have ever become criminals or fallen away from the tenets and teaching of sound American patriotism and public morality. This is a wonderful record, one that will compare favorably with any church teaching in the United States.

This demand on the part of the church is not a new one. It has, like Banquo's ghost, risen continuously in various parts of the United States, and, fortunately for the good of the public, has continuously been crushed or denied. As early as in the days of the colonists, notably in Virginia, the Episcopal church demanded legislation in regard to this subject, and it was owing to the heroic effort of James Madison and others that it was defeated, and the reasons given by the advocates of that period are identical with the reasons alleged by our friends this time, that is, a lack of church attendance and an increase of immorality. And it was distinctly proven in those memorable debates, held in Virginia, that the reverse was true; and so it can be undisputably proven in this instance that crime has not increased because of a lack of religious teaching in the public schools. If crime has increased (and that is yet a question, when we consider the increase in population), then it is due to

a lack of home training and a non-appreciation on the part of those who sit at the feet of the respective ministers and listen to the teaching of piety and true observance of the principles upon which religion is founded and based.

As far back as seventy-six years ago, when the question of carrying the United States mails on Sunday was discussed before the Senate of the United States, Mr. Johnson, of Kentucky, made a report, (American State Papers, Class VII p. 211) from which I give extracts:

"It should, however, be kept in mind that the proper object of government is to protect all persons in the enjoyment of their religious as well as civil rights; and not to determine for any whether they shall esteem one day above another or esteem all days alike.

It is not legitimate province of the legislature to determine what religion is true or what false. Our government is a civil, and not a religious institution Our Constitution recognizes in every person the right to choose his own religion, and to enjoy it freely, without molestation. Whatever may be the religious sentiments of citizens, and however variant, they are alike entitled to protection from the government, so long as they do not invade the rights of others.

The transportation of the mail on the first day of the week, it is believed, does not interfere with the rights of conscience. The petitioners for its discontinuance appear to be actuated from a religious zeal, which may be commendable when confined to its proper sphere, but they assume a position better suited to an ecclesiastical than to a civil institution. They appear in many instances to lay it down as an axiom that the practice is a violation of the law of God. Should Congress, in its legislative capacity, adopt the sentiment, it would establish the principle that the legislature is the proper tribunal to determine what

are the laws of God. It would involve a legislative decision in a religious controversy, and on a point in which good citizens may honestly differ in opinion without disturbing the peace of society or endangering its liberties. If this principle is once introduced, it will be impossible to define its bounds. Among all the religious persecutions, with which almost every page of modern history is stained, no victim ever suffered but for the violation of what government denominated the law of God. To prevent a similar train of evils in this country, the Constitution has wisely withheld from our government the power of defining the Divine Law. It is a right reserved to each citizen, and while he respects the equal rights of others, he cannot be held amenable to any human tribunal for his conclusion....

"Extensive religious combinations to effect a political object are, in the opinion of the Committee, always dangerous. The first effort of the kind calls for the establishment of a principle which, in the opinion of the Committee, would lay the foundation for dangerous innovations upon the spirit of the Constitution and upon the religious rights of the citizens. If admitted, it may be justly apprehended that the future measures of government will be strongly marked, if not eventually controlled, by the same influence. All religious despotism commences by combination and influence; and when that influence begins to operate upon the political institutions of a country, the civil power soon bends under it; and the catastrophes of other nations furnished an awful warning of the consequence.... If the principle is once established that religion or religious observances shall be interwoven with our legislative acts, we must pursue it to its ultimatum. We shall, if consistent, vote for the erection of edifices for the worship of the Creator, and for the support of Christian ministers, if we believe such measures will promote the interests of Christianity. It is the settled conviction of the Com-

mittee that the only method of avoiding these consequences, with their attendant train of evils, is to adhere strictly to the spirit of the Constitution, which regards the general government in no other light than that of a civil institution wholly destitute of religious authority.

"What other nations call religious toleration, we call religious rights. They are not exercised in virtue of governmental indulgence, but as rights, of which government cannot deprive any class of citizens, however small.... Let the national legislature once perform an act which involves the decision of a religious controversy and it will have passed its legitimate bounds. The precedent will then be established, and the foundation laid for the usurpation of the Divine prerogative in this country, which has been the desolating scourge to the fairest portions of the Old World. Our Constitution recognizes no other power than that of persuasion for enforcing religious observances. Let the professors of Christianity recommend their religion by deeds of benevolence, by Christian meekness, by lives of temperance and holiness. Let them combine their efforts to instruct the ignorant, to relieve the widow and the orphan, to promulgate to the world the gospel of their Saviour, recommending its precepts by their habitual example. Government will find its legitimate object in protecting them. It cannot oppose them, and they will not need its aid. Their moral influence will then do infinitely more to advance the true interests of religion than any measures which they may call on Congress to enact.

The petitioners do not complain of any infringement upon their own rights. They enjoy all that all Christians ought to ask at the hand of any government—protection from all molestation in the exercise of their religious sentiments.

Congress acts under a Constitution of delegated and limited powers. The Committee look in vain in that instrument for a delegation of power authorizing

this body to inquire and determine what part of time, if any, has been set apart by the Almighty for religious exercise; on the contrary, among the few provisions which it contains is one that prohibits a religious test, and another which declares that Congress shall pass no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. The Committee might here rest the argument upon the cognizance of Congress. And as the opposers of Sunday mail disclaim all intention to unite church and state, the Committee does not feel disposed to impugn their motives.

But the history of the world furnishes the melancholy demonstration that the disposition of one man to coerce the religious homage of another springs from unchastened ambition rather than a sincere devotion to any religion. The principles of our government do not recognize in the majority any authority over the minority except in matters which regard the conduct of man to his fellowman. A Jewish monarch, by grasping the holy censer, lost both his sceptre and his freedom. A destiny so little to be envied may be the lot of the American people, who hold the sovereignty of power, if they, in the person of their representatives, shall attempt to reunite in the remotest degree church and state.

The equality of rights secured by the Constitution may bid defiance to mere political tyrants, but the robe of sanctity too often glitters to deceive.

With the exception of the United States, the whole human race, consisting, as it is supposed, of eight hundred millions of rational beings, is in religious bondage; and, in reviewing the scenes of persecution, which history everywhere presents, unless the Committee could believe that the cries of the burning victim and the flames by which he is consumed bear to heaven a grateful incense, the conclusion is inevitable that the line cannot be too strongly drawn between church and state.

If a solemn act of legislation shall in one point define the law of God or point out to the citizen one religious duty, it may with equal propriety proceed to define every part of divine revelation and enforce every religious obligation, even to the forms and ceremonies of worship, the endowment of the church and the supporter of the clergy."

The foregoing shows the wonderful wisdom of those who have gone before us, and ought to be imitated by every true American. To present this matter in its legal aspect, and to show that any regulation restricting the free exercise and privileges of religion is a violation of our Constitution, I beg to quote Article I of the amendments to the Constitution which says:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

It has been stated that the propriety of having religious teaching in the public schools can be inferred from the Constitution, which requires the President, on entering upon the duties of the chief magistracy, to use the words "So help me God" in connection with his oath. This statement is untrue, as witness the following clause from the Constitution actually prescribing the form of the oath:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Article XIV, Sec. 1 of the Constitution says:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce

any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

All citizens of the United States have absolute equality before the law, and have equal rights, privileges and duties. It has been fundamental that whilst the fullest exercise of religion should be had, no form of religion should be advocated, promulgated or taught by the United States or by any State or Territory thereof. It is extremely doubtful whether certain practices now in existence in the public schools of the District of Columbia are legal—such as singing of certain hymns, the celebration of certain religious holidays, the recitation of certain prayers. It is believed that these are not in accordance with the intention of the founders of this Republic or the men who carried it on. Absolute freedom of religious exercise cannot be maintained, if any religious teaching is permitted in the public schools by the state.

The support of the public schools comes equally from all the citizens of the District of Columbia by taxation, and all are equally entitled to its benefits and to all of its benefits. The proposition that the parents of certain classes of children be permitted to withdraw their children at a given time would be an abridgement of this right, beside creating an invidious or class distinction in the schools, greatly to be deplored, and detrimental to the harmony and goodfellowship which should prevail among the children, as it should among all classes of citizens.

The proposal that the parent or guardian of a child

should, through the public school teacher, have the child taught along the lines to be selected by the parent, is unwise and unnecessary. If the parent is desirous of having the child taught along certain religious lines, there are ample opportunities of doing this outside of the public schools, without calling upon the public machinery to carry it into effect.

If there be any contribution which the Jews have made to the world, it is the Bible, and the religions which are derived therefrom. They of all people, cannot be suspected of hostility either to the Bible or to religion. They are the inheritors of a longer religious tradition than that of any other people in the Western world, possibly even in the eastern world. And no class of men has suffered so much and so long from the violation of the principles of the absolute separation of church and state as they have. Their experience of religion therefore entitles them to say that morality, as the outcome of religious teaching, is only produced through the regular discipline of the home and the church. No class of citizens has greater interest in the promotion of civic virtue or of the fundamental private virtues which go toward making the good citizen.

It has become general in the public schools to teach certain subjects under the combined name of civics, which are intended to instruct the future citizen in his duty to the State, and this form of study ought to be all-sufficient.

It has been stated that the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that this is a Christian country. This statement is not borne out by the records

of the court or by any facts known to me. What is referred to is probably the following circumstance:

The Church of the Holy Trinity, New York City, imported Rev. Walpole Warren as rector of the church. Under the act prohibiting the importation of contract labor, the immigration officials imposed upon Trinity Church a fine for this offense, and named the sum of one thousand dollars. The corporation of Trinity Church refused to pay the fine, and the matter was argued in the United States Circuit Court of Eastern New York. The United States Circuit Court decided in favor of the United States against Trinity Church. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court, which reversed the decision of the lower court.

It was held by the Court that the prohibition of selecting a clergyman from any part of the world, while within the letter, was not within the spirit of the statute, and that only manual labor was aimed at, especially as Congress cannot be presumed to have intended to legislate against religion. There was nothing in the briefs or arguments before the court which in any way bore upon the question as to whether or not this is a Christian country, and the religion practised by the particular church in question hardly came into the argument.

In handing down the opinion of the court, Justice Brewer quoted from an early Pennsylvania case, the phrase "Christianity, general Christianity, is and always has been a part of the common law of Pennsylvania, . . . not Christianity with an established church and tithes and spiritual courts, but *Christianity with liberty of conscience to all men.*" He also quoted the earlier opinion of the U. S. Supreme Court in Vidal

vs. Girard's Executors, 2 How. 127, 198 where it was said: "It is also said, and truly, that the Christian religion is part of the common law of Pennsylvania." He concluded that "this is a Christian nation," but to show that he was putting all sects on a parity, he urged that if a bill had been before Congress forbidding such contract between any congregation and a minister abroad, for instance "any Jewish synagogue with some eminent Rabbi . . . . can it be believed that it would have received a minute of approving thought or a single vote?" (143 U. S. 457, 472). The references to Christianity were no part of what was actually adjudged by the Court, and was an inferential remark, his own individual opinion, and in no way governed the decision of the case.

The question of teaching religion in the public schools, or whether this is a sectarian country in the sense of those who are advocating this religious teaching, has never been before the Supreme Court, but simply the question of alien contract law in the matter of the contract for the preacher, and it was looked upon at the time by the Supreme Court as an invasion of its very rights, for which we are now contending.

Again citing the Constitution, its preamble declares: "To form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." One of the blessings of liberty is for the children of the citizen to have liberty of conscience, and not the perfunctory and peremptory dictation of any Board of Education.

If there is a lack of religious fervor and appreciation on the part of the rising generation, we must seek for its cause in another direction, and not lay it at the door of the public schools of our country. As I have already observed in this presentation, it must be the home and the church or synagogue in which religion or what is so-called—sectarianism—is to be taught. The divers faiths of our country are represented in the public school teachers, and it would be an almost ludicrous position to entrust any teacher either with a direct or discretionary authority, for the faith of the teacher would prove dominant, and instead of it being continued and recognized as a public school, it would simply become a Sabbath or Sunday school.

There has been introduced into various cities of the United States, and notably Philadelphia (and President Roosevelt has most heartily endorsed this plan), what is called the "school city," which teaches civics in the highest form, instills patriotism and love of and for the flag and the institutions thereunder. The National Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution, at their meeting on Saturday, before adjourning, adopted by an enthusiastic unanimous vote this plan of the "school city." The friends of the "school city" claim (and so should every American) that patriotism is the basic principle of religion, and if any innovation is to be made, let it be in this direction, thus laying a foundation that we may meet upon common ground, without any difference of opinion, instead of opening the doors to a resurrected skeleton which will endanger all that we hold most dear and sacred.

In conclusion, I beg leave to quote from the auto-

biography of Hon. Andrew D. White, college president, teacher and statesman, this book having just made its appearance (II 571):

"More and more the thinking and controlling races are developing the power of right reason, and more and more they are leaving to inferior and disappearing races the methods of theological dogmatism.

More and more in all parts of the civilized world is developing liberty of thought, and more and more is left behind the tyranny of formulas . . . .

What should be the attitude of thinking men in view of all this? History, I think, teaches us that, just so far as possible, the rule of our conduct should be to assist evolution, rather than revolution. Religious revolution is at times inevitable, and at such times the rule of conduct should be to unite our efforts to the forces working for a new and better era. But religious revolutions are generally futile and always dangerous. As a rule they have failed. Even when successful and beneficial they have brought new evils.

True, there will be at times need of strong resistance, and especially of resistance, to all efforts by any clerical combination, whether of rabbis, priests or minister, no matter how excellent, to hamper scientific thought, to control public education, or to erect barriers and arouse hates between men. Both religion and science have suffered fearfully from unlimited clerical sway; but of the two, religion has suffered most.

When one considers the outcome of national education entirely under the control of the church during over fifteen hundred years—in France at the outbreak of the revolution of 1789, in Italy at the outbreak of the revolution of 1848, in the Spanish-American republics down to a very recent period, and in Spain, Poland and elsewhere at this very hour—one sees how delusive is the hope that a return to the ideas and methods of the ages of faith is likely to cure the evils that still linger among us.

The best way of aiding in a healthful evolution would seem to consist in firmly but decisively resisting all ecclesiastical efforts to control or thwart the legitimate work of science and education; in letting the light of modern research and thought into the religious atmosphere, and in cultivating, each for himself, obedience to the first and great commandment, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'"

Respectfully submitted,

SIMON WOLF, *Chairman.*

Washington, D. C., April 25th, 1905.

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* Since Mr. Wolf's argument was prepared, the doctrine that "Christianity is a part of the common law" was carefully considered by the judicial division of the House of Lords, the chief law tribunal in England, in the case of *"Bowman vs. Secular Society,"* Law Reports 1917 Appeals Cases 406, and it was squarely decided that this dogma is "really not law, it is rhetoric." The case is fully analyzed in a paper by Max J. Kohler on "The Doctrine that Christianity is Part of the Common Law, and its Recent Judicial Overthrow in England, with Particular Reference to Jewish Rights," read before the American Jewish Historical Society and to be published in its "Publications," No. 31. In this paper numerous articles criticising Justice Brewer's dictum 'that this is a Christian nation' are collated.

The "Central Conference of American Rabbis," through a committee of which Rabbi David Lefkowitz was Chairman, issued a useful 27 page pamphlet in 1922, entitled "Why the Bible Should not be read in the Public School." The decisions of American courts on the legality of such course, pro and con, are collated and analyzed in a long note in Vol. 5 American Law Reports, Annotated 866-908 (1920), slightly augmented in Vol. 20 Am. Law Reports, Annotated, 1334. The great weight of numerical authority is in favor of the legality of the reading, despite constitutional provisions in favor of religious liberty, provided that mere reading, without exposition, takes place. The only States which have held the constitutional provisions in favor of religious liberty to be violated by merely reading the Bible, are Wisconsin (State vs. Edgerton School District, 76 Wisc. 177); Nebraska (State vs. Schere, 65 Nebraska 853); Illinois (People vs. Board of Education, 245 Illinois 334) and as against Jews, where christological passages are read, Louisiana (Harold vs. Parish Board 136 La. 1034). In a number of the States, the constitutional provisions are less explicit than in others. If actual instruction

on the basis of Bible reading takes place, the Constitution will be regarded as violated, in general, and it is not unlikely that in many States, reading of pronouncedly sectarian passages from the New Testament would also be held to be a violation of the rights of Jewish pupils. The latest decision which sustained the constitutionality of mere Bible reading, while recognizing the conflict of authorities involved, is Wilberson vs. Rome 20 Am. Law Reports Annotated 1334 (Ga. 1922). There may be a reasonable question whether the New York Court of Appeals for example, would today sustain reading from the New Testament on complaint of Jewish residents in view of O'Connor vs. Hendrick, 184 N. Y. 421 (refusing to follow Hysong vs. School District 164 Pa. St. 629, 654), forbidding employment of teachers in the public schools, wearing Catholic nun's apparel, and Brink vs. Stratton, 176 N. Y. 150, (overruling People vs. Most, 128 N. Y. 150), forbidding even asking a juror whether he is an agnostic or not. Board of Education vs. Minor 23 Ohio St. 211 sustained the legality of a Board of Education regulation forbidding reading of the Bible in the public schools in Cincinnati. The Illinois decision, Peo. vs. Board of Education 245 Illinois 334 probably contains the best discussion of the question.

Useful notes are to be found in the following law reports: 7 L. R. A., 330; 59 L. R. A., 927; 16 L. R. A., New Series, 860; 29 L. R. A., N. S., 442 L. R. A., 1915 D., 941; 2 Am. & Eng. Anno. Cases, 521; 9 Anno. Cases, 36; 19 Am. & Eng. Anno. Cases, 220; Am. & Eng. Anno. Cases, 1916A, 806; compare Meyer vs. Nebraska, 262 U. S., 390, declaring statute unconstitutional, forbidding teaching foreign languages, under the 14th amendment, and Pierce vs. Society of the Sisters of the Holy Name 268 U. S. 510, (1925), declaring the Oregon statute unconstitutional, requiring all children between 8 and 16 to attend the public schools. At the same term, the U. S. Supreme Court, in Gitlow vs. New York (Idem. p. 708) declined to consider itself bound by its earlier dicta that the 14th Amendment in no case protects the individual against State impairment of rights protected against Federal governmental impairment by the 1st Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. One can readily keep up to date on the question by following up the Annotations, annually published at present, to 35 Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure, 1126-7 (43-52), article "Schools and School Districts," section "Religious Instruction and Reading of Scriptures."—Editors.

Property of
Temple Israel
Minneapolis, Minnesota

THE JEW AS A FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES*

THAT the Jew is a factor in the development of the United States is a self-evident proposition. In every walk of life he has manifested his individuality, his resourceful intellect, his wonderful energy, his temperate habits, and the devotion to such ideals as make and constitute citizenship. It is lamentable that in the light of history, especially American history, that he should be called upon to defend his position in the civic world; or that he should be asked to demonstrate by evidence, his right of being the equal of the best, and inferior to none. Persecution in other lands has not dulled his intellect or cooled his ardor; on the contrary, it has strengthened both; and therefore the Jewish immigrants of the past as well as those of the present, come to our country thoroughly aroused and equipped for the battle that confronts them, and ready to assimilate with the best in their new environments. The Jews of the United States cannot and ought not to be judged exclusively by those who live in large aggregations in the sea-board cities. They must be judged as a whole; not that there is anything derogatory or inimical to the welfare of the nation in their conduct in the sea-board cities, but

*Synopsis of an Address delivered at Philadelphia, January 3, 1906.

American citizenship has a wider range and a broader horizon, than that which is reflected in the bee-hives of humanity. It is the country towns, the smaller cities, that bring to the fore, the highest traits of American citizenship, by and through which men and women can be justly judged and estimated. Because there is more blending of individual lives, there is a closer kinship, between men and women of different faiths there is a keener and nearer appreciation of each others' best qualities, men and women come in closer touch with each other, than in the large marts, where the on-rush for commercial and financial success predominates. I speak from experience,—landing in 1848 in a small town in Ohio, living with my uncles, who were honored and respected merchants of the community, I never experienced the anti-Semitic feeling. The word "Jew" was never heard; we were citizens among citizens, friends among friends. There was never a social or public or civic function but we were part thereof, and thus there grew up a steady and permanent appreciation of each others' good qualities that disarmed prejudice. In fact, it was never born, and today in that little town, while it has now grown up to be quite a place, the descendants of the pioneers speak with the highest regard and esteem of the American citizens of Jewish faith, who lived in their midst. And to such an extent is their reverence felt, that at the home coming week, after fifty years had passed into history, I was invited as the special guest of honor to deliver the oration; and what is true of this individual case is equally true in hundreds of similar cases, and the history thus made, the education secured, and the good fellowship instilled, has pro-

duced a marked development in the civilization of our country.

It must ever be conceded that it is not only on the field of battle, whether on land or sea, that real progress or permanent development is made. It is in the effort for peace, for the progress and advancement of mankind over the midnight oil, that which produces inventions of wonder and delight, that which makes for the uplifting and betterment of men; and in this direction, the Jew of the United States stands at the very zenith of accomplishment. He has grasped the situation, comprehended his opportunity, and has accomplished all that could really be expected of any one similarly situated.

The basic principle of government lies in the home. The influence that radiates from the home circle is of permanent value, and gives the true test of American citizenship. Bishop Satterlee, the Episcopal Dean of the District of Columbia, last year, in a public address, made mention of the nobility that underlies the Jewish home; the scarcity of divorces among the Jewish people, and held them up as a bright star of excellence, and a shining exemplar for his parishioners to follow. No better tribute need be asked for; and what the Bishop so glowingly and truthfully stated, can be said not only of the home life, but of the civic, that the Jew as a citizen is asked to discharge. In all the scandals, whether private or public that have for so many years confronted our public men, I know of no prominent Jew that has been involved in any of these scandals, or that has been charged or accused of grafting, or wrecking railroads or financial institutions, or robbing women or orphans, or doing any of the des-

picable or cowardly things that have disgraced our time and brought shame and obloquy upon many who have heretofore enjoyed confidence and public esteem; and it is in this direction that the Jew furnishes facts in the development of our country which the future historian must gather, link by link, to form a chain that can never be destroyed, and that will always furnish indissoluble evidence of that high character for American citizenship, which should be the heir-loom of each and every one who loves the flag and who reveres the institutions under which we are so happily living.

One of the important factors that should go far towards destroying prejudice and bringing us into the front rank of human benefactors, is the fact that we do not permit any of our suffering poor to become a public charge, or to be in want or distress. But not only in caring for our own are we prominent and distinctive, but in addition thereto, we are ever ready to assist and aid the unfortunate, of every creed and every nationality. It is part of the curriculum of our faith and of our traditions, and this tends to a higher development of the nation in which the Jew resides.

In the matter of education, it is no longer a mooted question, but one that has been demonstrated and conceded, that the children of the Jews are patrons of the public school system, and that they do not take subordinate rank, but graduate at the very fore, and what is true of the public schools is quite true of the universities and colleges of our country. It is not only those who have been born on this soil that are thus prominent, but the children of the immigrant, even those of recent years, give evidence of their match-

less power for success in their new surroundings; they are coming out at the very front in every branch of public education, and where education has become part of the history of a people, they can safely be trusted as to their conception of public duty. When danger confronts the nation, either from enemies without or from within, the Jew has never been found shirking, as I have abundantly shown in my book, "The American Jew as Soldier, Patriot and Citizen." Considering the number of Jews that had lived in the United States up to the time of writing the book, they had contributed a larger quota than any other faith.

Thus in every direction, in the home, the temple, and the synagogue, as worshipers of their ancient faith, in public life as officials, whether elected or appointed, as financiers of trust funds, as philanthropists and humanitarians, as scientists, artists, thinkers and scholars, as journalists, authors and publicists, they have given their best efforts and best brain emanations, to the highest development of the State and the United States. They can safely look back upon the past without regret and look forward to the future, full of hope and confidence, feeling assured that the Jew as an American citizen will take high rank in the history of our country, and will never prove recreant to its best tradition, and vindicate by his conduct his right to American citizenship, and transmit to generations unborn, his love of, and for, all that is humane and noble, and is ready in peace and in war, to battle for all that which is elevating and patriotic. It is this very achievement of the Jew since the foundation of the republic, that

has made countries in which tyranny and persecution still exist, tremble at the power and influence that the American Jew possesses, for I declare it here tonight, and emphasize with all the intensity of my nature, that Russia today fears more the Jews of the United States, than she does any of the European powers. It is the assertive, indomitable and exhaustive resources of the Jew's wonderful brain and energy that the tyrant and despot always dreads. Let us therefore pursue in the future as we have in the past, only such course of conduct as will win us the continued confidence and friendship of the conscientious and the deserving and the patriotic esteem of our fellowmen, irrespective of all faiths, for it is only when we are true to ourselves, that we will receive that meed of recognition, that award of appreciation, which the true man ever deserves.

Much has been said recently about the anti-Semitism of this country, but I have failed to find it to the extent of making it a "cult." There is more danger of anti-Semitism arising from our own ranks than from any that may come from those of other faiths. Our country is so broad and grand in all directions, that the sweep of free air that goes surging through the prairies and savannas, will prevent the anti-Semitic influence that is the curse of European governments.

Do not force your presence on those that do not desire it, make them seek you by virtue of your intelligence, your sobriety, your good conduct and your patriotism. The Jews should be like Caesar's wife, "above suspicion," for we stand, one for all, and all for one, and while the gloom and terror and midnight torch hang suspended over the future of many of our

co-religionists, yet even out of this darkness will spring the light of a brighter dawn, and with it will come a noble Jewry, banded together for all that is good, and which will produce eventually, liberty of conscience for all, and equality before the law for those who hitherto have been denied it.

We seniors will soon pay the tribute due to nature; let us have the consolation of the inspiration that is to go to the younger generation, whose future is all ablaze with possibilities and opportunities, and who in grasping these conditions must be equipped as their ancestors, with fortitude of purpose, nobility of character, determined to win, and yet be modest as a woman, and virile as a soldier.

IN MEMORY OF SCHILLER*

ONE hundred years have passed into history since there was given back to mother earth all that was mortal of one of the most illustrious men of all time. Frederick von Schiller, although born in Germany, belongs to the world, and his fame has circled every part thereof. It is most fitting that in the Capitol of the great western republic, there should be held, commemorative services in recognition of his deathless literary achievements, for no country can so thoroughly appreciate his wonderful genius, his keen analysis, and his love of and for mankind, as the citizens of a country, whose basic principle is the equality of all men. While it must be conceded that Schiller was a great poet, dramatist, historian and essayist, he was beyond all these great attributes, the tribune and advocate of liberty; free and independent thought was his inspiring motive and underlying principle. The emancipation of the human mind from the thraldom of ages, was the glorious inspiration of his soul and heart, and his magnificent brain was charged with love of and for man, independent of all other earthly consideration, and these glorious soul emanations were appreciated and cherished by his countrymen, to a greater extent than the works of any other literary hero of Germany. He was essentially the poet of the people, and his genial and loving face can be seen in the cottages of the lowly to a far greater extent, than in the palaces of

*Address delivered at Washington, 1905.

the wealthy. His was the trumpet call to "young Germany," and William Tell became the storm center of the daring and aspiring.

His ballads, his songs, his plays, were made part of the curriculum of daily life, and the plow-man and the mechanic sang and recited them, hopeful of the future. What Robert Burns was to Scotland, Frederick von Schiller was to Germany, and indeed to all countries where men and women are struggling to free themselves from the thraldom of their environments.

I remember well, when in 1848 in a small town in Ohio, I read for the first time, "The Robbers," "William Tell," "Wallenstein," "The Bell," "Don Carlos," and the numerous ballads and songs which emanated from his fertile brain, and I can yet feel through every fibre of my brain, the glow of enthusiasm and intense admiration that I felt for the man and for the poet. Age has in no wise dimmed that impression; on the contrary, strengthened it, and made me in common with millions of other men throughout all the civilized world, feel that when Frederick von Schiller was born, there had risen in the firmament one that will never die, but will continue to grow more lustrous throughout the ages, reflecting light, hope, comfort and good cheer. It is, after all, not an age of materialism, as has been so often trumpeted by the pessimist and hypercritic; on the contrary, demonstrations such as are taking place here tonight, and which are duplicated throughout the world, prove that, after all, the legacy that has been transmitted to us through the courts of genius by men like Schiller, are appreciated, honored and recognized, and that the education derived therefrom is elevating and inspiring, and gives the rising

generation, a generous field for nobler and greater achievements. Indeed, it may be truthfully said, that the great work accomplished by men like Frederick von Schiller, is of greater value today than even in the days when he wrote his immortal works. It takes time, after all, to bring about lasting results. That which intoxicates is of a temporary character; that which stimulates and acts as a tonic, is lasting.

The fame and name of Schiller will survive dynasties, and will live long after emperors, kings and great generals shall have been forgotten, for there is something in the words of the great poet that can never die.

Let us who are patriotic Americans, and who revere the literary accomplishments of our great poets and singers of Germany, never prove recreant to the great trust reposed in us, but be constant in our vigilance for the maintenance of those high ideals and principles of liberty of conscience, of thought, of free action, by and through which only, man rises to heights sublime, where prejudice, bigotry and superstition find no lodgment.

BENEFITS OF IMMIGRATION (1893)

Washington, D. C., October 28, 1914.

IN April, 1893, the correspondence which follows here below, passed between the then United States Senator William E. Chandler of New Hampshire and myself. It needs no explanation, but I deem it opportune to reproduce it.

Events since that date have justly verified all that I stated in my letters to the Senator, and history at the present moment, in and out of Congress, is simply repeating itself. It is well known that since that date we have had the Spanish War, in which by the testimony of no less a person than President Roosevelt, American citizens of Jewish faith displayed the highest courage and bravery on the field of battle, and strange as it may appear to the unthinking and prejudiced, the bulk of these had come from Russia, and hundreds freely volunteered to fight for the land of their adoption, "and now they are loyally giving their lives to sustain the cause of Russia," Immigration of Russian and Roumanian Jews since those days of '93, has flown in one continuous stream, forced to do so by the inhuman acts of these two respective governments, and in every city of the country there have been formed organizations to aid and assist these refugees, and to a very large extent they have proven their worth and shown their appreciation of American institutions. It is to be hoped that the outcome of the

terrible struggle, that is now deluging with blood the fair fields of Europe, will bring about a recognition for the Jew of those inalienable rights to which all men are entitled, equality before the law. When that blissful day shall come there will no longer be a Jewish question. There will no longer be any enforced emigration, for the cause shall have disappeared, and peace, concord and equal rights shall reign supreme.

Since this correspondence, I published a book entitled "'The American Jew as Soldier, Patriot and Citizen," in which it was shown from the official records of the Government and of the respective States, that the Jews in peace and in war, considering their number, had surpassed all other denominations, and that record has, I am happy to say, been maintained from that day to this, and will always be maintained where the rights of the man are recognized and the golden opportunities offered by their country are not nullified by legislation or unjustifiable prejudice.

SIMON WOLF.

P.S.

I know of no better way to celebrate my 78th birthday than to reproduce this correspondence.

THE JEWISH IMMIGRANT (1893)

Senator Chandler's Reply to Mr. Simon Wolf's Open Letter

My Dear Mr. Wolf: Your letter in *The Washington Post* of this morning (April 25) is based solely upon my general statement that President Cleveland seemed inclined specially to encourage Jewish immigration of a character injurious to our people.

This did not call for vituperation on your part, but for denial, if possible, or for justification. The blackballing of Mr. Theodore Seligman at the Union League Club was, I believe, an unjustifiable act of religious bigotry. Objecting to the introduction into this country of a vast and undesirable swarm of Jews, who are, because they are Jews, and for no other reason, being brought here by extraordinary means, is a different proposition.

If a whole people from any country propose to migrate to the United States and we begin to consider whether we ought to receive them, by what name shall we call them when we discuss the question? Surely by the name they call themselves. If it is a religious migration, must we not speak of it as such? If not, how otherwise? The Russian Jews are swarming to this country, and I think they are not desirable immigrants, as I think of the Hungarians and many of the Italians. When I say so, I must speak of them as Jews and forthwith you take occasion to charge me with religious bigotry; you denounce my Christianity and my Americanism, and flout at me on account of the burnings of witches in New England. Mr. Wolf, you are going too far. You should reason and not anathematize. Consider a few stern and troublesome facts:

The people of New York City must prepare themselves for an overwhelming incursion of Jews from Russia. There are 7,000,000 there, of whom 3,500,000 are very near being paupers. Baron Hirsch, with his $10,000,000 fund, wishes them to come to the United States. Their migration to South America has ceased. All other nations try to keep them out. We do not.

Mr. Schwab's steamship company wishes to bring them. Our late gate-keeper at Ellis Island, John B. Weber, is now in the employ of the Hirsch Society. Our new gate-keeper, Joseph B. Senner, is a recently naturalized Austrian whom Louis Schade says, in his Washington Sentinel, is a Jew.

The new law of March 3, 1893, was intended to more rigidly keep out the excluded classes. Mr. Weber and Assistant Secretary Spaulding and Dr. George O. Glavis planned to entirely nullify the statute, and issued their orders to that effect, but Secretary Carlisle and Superintendent Stump announce their determination to enforce the law as it is written. What will Mr. Senner do?

Notwithstanding your uncalled for abuse, which is unchristian, and, I think, un-Jewish, no word in this letter will be said by me in derogation of the Jewish religion. All religions are equal before our Constitution and laws, including the immigration laws. But we are confronted with the fact that the Jews, as such, are persecuted in Russia for the purpose of driving them out, and that a $10,000,000 fund had been provided to help "Jews" to emigrate to the United States. Baron Hirsch, in his letter from Paris dated July 15, 1891, and in a later letter of September, 1891, writes in the first to the "German central committee for the Russian Jews in Berlin," and in the second to "My coreligionists in Russia." He speaks throughout of his beneficiaries as his "coreligionists," whom he proposes to help to emigrate.

In the face of a migration so named, and so incited and promoted, are the interests of our people sufficiently protected by laws which merely exclude "paupers

or persons likely to become a public charge?" When a special migration to our shores is thus organized and conducted, should it not be dealt with by special laws? New York City is vitally interested in this question. The Jewish immigrants are not agriculturists. They do not go West. They stay in the seaboard cities. They swarm into New York City. What kind of wage-workers and citizens do they become? The laws of March 3, 1891, and March 3, 1893, properly enforced, will keep out nearly all the persons whom our policy now excludes.

Public sentiment has not yet been strong enough to make it possible to pass a law making new exclusions. But shall we receive a whole nation of Jews as Jews, who are not desirable citizens; and if we object and argue the question, shall we be vilified by you because we even venture to use the word "Jews?"

And now, frankly tell me, Mr. Wolf, are you or have you at any time been, in the employ of the Hirsch Society? Very respectfully,

April 25, 1893. WILLIAM E. CHANDLER.

THE JEWISH IMMIGRANT

Mr. Simon Wolf's Rejoinder to the Reply of Senator Chandler

My Dear Mr. Chandler: I never was, nor am I now, an agent of Baron de Hirsch. I do not know him, nor have I ever corresponded with him. I am not even a member of the executive committee resident at New York, and of which committee our friend A. S. Solomons is secretary and superintendent. Therefore the animus contained in your last paragraph is uncalled for.

My whole interest in this matter is as an American citizen, and in the best interests of humanity. I do not think it is necessary for me to indicate in words what I have for a life-time proven in act. I love a man for what he is, irrespective of race or creed, and by no word or act of mine have I ever made the burden of the oppressed or maligned heavier. You, possibly unintentionally, have strengthened the sentiment of prejudice against the Jew as a man.

Europe is surcharged with prejudice. In American cities, leading clubs and associations discriminate by vote against the Jew, and then comes a Senator of the United States and indorses these acts by stating "that the Jewish emigrant is undesirable, and that his coming here is a danger to labor and a menace to our people." Do you wonder that I felt indignant and sore?

Now as to the facts: There is not an American citizen of Jewish faith that has encouraged the emigration of the Russian Jews. We were aware from the start that it was a great problem, and that the solution thereof would fall on our shoulders, as Jews. We tried in every way, by diplomacy and otherwise, to secure from Russia a mitigation of her laws, so as to have gradual emigration and not a wholesale expulsion. The whole financial world, concentrated in London, Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, tried its utmost and failed.

Laws cruel and inhuman were enforced, and a peaceable, law-abiding class, born on the soil, were ruthlessly compelled to begin another exodus. Germany closed its doors, so did other monarchial States. Where were these unfortunates, made so by no act of their own, to go? Baron de Hirsch never encouraged them

to come here, neither did we, nor did the committee in Hamburg. Most of these refugees had relatives and friends here, who came since 1882, who had prospered, and whose happiness encouraged their absent friends. Baron de Hirsch with his broad humanity and liberal philanthropy sent agents to South America, to Asia, and other parts of the world, seeking to colonize these people there.

The United States was the last resort; for Baron de Hirsch was thoroughly familiar with our wishes and opinions. But when, as a last resort, they did come, what was done? We, the Jews, cared for them, and they have not fallen a burden to the state or city; they are not paupers or criminals. They are simply and unfortunately exiles. We have in this city a number who are industrious and peaceable, and are not a burden to any one. The Baron de Hirsch Fund in New York is used to aid and educate these people; to teach them to be useful and good American citizens. Schools and colleges have been founded for them, homes erected for their comfort; in short, everything has been done to rob the exile of its terrors, and to instill the humanizing influences of a higher and better civilization. In Chicago a manual training school in which 2,000 children are educated exists. It is a model school, and does great good. All this I state to show you that these people are not undesirable, nor do they come, by any torture of words, within the meaning of any immigration laws.

If you mean, Mr. Senator, that these people, in common with the majority of recent emigrants, vote the Democratic ticket, I am ready to concede it, but we are not dealing with it from a political, but from a na-

tional and humane standpoint. The statement made by you that Dr. Senner, recently appointed, is a Jew is news to me. I was aware that he was an Austrian Catholic, and that he was indorsed by the Democratic leaders, such as Ottendorfer, Schurz, and Steinway, but, even if he is, do you mean to say that a man's religion prevents him from discharging his duties honestly?

My dear Mr. Chandler, in every city and town of the United States there are organizations encouraging the unfortunate exiles to leave the seaboard cities, and no sacrifice is deemed too great in trying to distribute them. There are many colonies in existence, others are being founded; in short, we are striving to prove by act that the right of asylum is not abused, and that a wholesale assertion, such as made by you, is not justified. All that we ask is a wise and humane discretion in the construction and application of law.

We ask this not alone as Jews, but as loyal and patriotic citizens. Very truly yours,

HON. WILLIAM E. CHANDLER SIMON WOLF.
Washington, April 26, 1893.

It was particularly appropriate that the rights of the Russian Jewish immigrant to America should thus be defended, as they came over here so largely under the protection of the following letter from Secretary Foster, ably defining right of asylum, in answer to representations of the Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights of July 27th, 1891:

Simon Wolf and Lewis Abraham of this city, on behalf of the Union of American Hebrew Congrega-

tions, have addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury a communication on the subject of the immigration of Russian Hebrews to the United States. In their address the writers, while deploring the enforced arrival in this country of so many of their exiled people, maintain that the statutes of the United States should not be so interpreted as to class them as paupers or assisted emigrants, "when hands of help and welcome are outstretched to elevate them to the exalted position of American citizenship without demanding any contributions from national or local taxes."

"That the refugees are generally in distress," say the writers, "is not denied. Circumstances have placed them in a situation that is recognized throughout the civilized world as resulting from the greatest crime of this so-called enlightened century, and this distress their brethren are untiringly striving to alleviate. To close the avenues of this free and liberty-loving country that has opened its gates to the down-trodden and unjustly persecuted, would be against the underlying genius and theory of our glorious and beloved Constitution. Neither the letter nor the spirit of the laws of our country requires us to close the gate of mercy on mankind."

The writers refer to the large influx of Russian Hebrews into this country about ten years ago and state that so far as can be ascertained, not a single one of them has become a public burden. Arguing from this and the further fact that a large number of organizations have been formed throughout the country, having for their object the general care and elevation of the exiles, the writers maintain that even if they have their "passage paid with the money of another," they cannot be classed as paupers, but rather come under the exceptional clause of the law, viz., "where it is satisfactorily shown that such persons do not belong to the foregoing excluded classes."

To which Secretary Foster answered as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Washington, D. C., Aug. 1, 1891.

Simon Wolf, Chairman,
Board of Delegates of the Union of American
Hebrew Congregations.

Dear Sir: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your communication of the 27th ultimo with its enclosures as stated.

You call my attention to the bitter hardships suffered by many thousands of Hebrews by reason of their forcible expulsion from their homes in the Russian Empire, and you state among other things that there is no organization in the United States which assists or encourages destitute Hebrew refugees to come to this country; that you deplore this form of immigration; that the efforts of the several Hebrew societies represented by you are confined to ameliorating the conditions of those unhappy people after their arrival at American ports, by relieving those in distress, and aiding all to avoid massing in the sea-board cities and to distribute themselves to widely separated localities where they may as soon as possible become self-sustaining. You state that you have no complaint to make in connection with the official treatment of refugees who have already arrived, and that you do not apprehend any future cause for complaint in this regard; but you urge the consideration that practically enforced immigration of this kind can not properly be classed as "assisted" immigration within the meaning of our laws, and finally you declare the readiness of the people and associations for whom you speak to give to the Government in all cases a satisfactory bond

guaranteeing that none of these refugee immigrants shall become a public charge.

Be assured, sir, that I fully concur in your estimate of the magnitude of the present calamity which has befallen so many of your race, as well as in your hope that an early mitigation or cessation of the current measures of expulsion may render unnecessary, any general migration of Russian Hebrews to America or elsewhere. Unquestionably, a great and sudden influx of expatriated and destitute aliens of any race would be a grave misfortune to any country, and American Hebrews act both patriotically and humanely when they advise Jewish refugees against coming hither, but at the same time endeavor to render self-supporting those who finally come. Obviously the support of great numbers of dependent persons is a tax upon the resources of the country, even though paid from private funds, and, quite as plainly, industrial conditions here might be seriously disturbed by the sudden arrival and the enforced competition of a multitude of needy people.

Hence it is important to the last degree that the volume of this expected refugee immigration be not excessive or threatening and that with entire certainty it be promptly and widely distributed so as to supply a real want in scattered communities and interfere as little as possible with existing and normal industrial conditions. The apparent scope and thoroughness of your plans for securing this immediate and wide distribution of the expected refugees are most gratifying, and upon the success of your associations in carrying out these plans will largely depend the possibility of the Government meeting your views in other respects.

While the immigration laws of the United States must and will be enforced, I agree with you that those laws were never enacted in derogation of the plainest requirements of humanity, and no worthy immigrant who in all other respects meets the demands of our statutes should be excluded from the country because, through the action of others, he is for the time being, homeless and without property.

I shall rely upon your voluntary assurance that you will actively urge upon your brethren in Europe the attitude of our laws toward assisted immigration. I also beg to remind you that any tendency abroad to deflect toward this country the movement of destitute refugees or to stimulate their migration hither, would be distinctly hostile to the spirit manifested in your letter and to the spirit in which the Government of the United States desires to treat this difficult and delicate problem.

Thanking you for your expressions of confidence that this department, while executing the immigration laws efficiently, will also execute them humanely, I am

Respectfully yours,

CHARLES FOSTER,
Secretary.

TESTIMONY OF SIMON WOLF

BEFORE THE UNITED STATES INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION [1901]

THE Commission met at Washington, D. C., March 9, 1901, at 10:40 A. M., Mr. Phillips presiding. At that time Honorable Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C., an attorney-at-law, was introduced as a witness and, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. Litchman): Will you kindly give your name, post-office address, and occupation to the stenographer, Mr. Wolf? A. Simon Wolf, 926 F Street, Washington, D. C., attorney-at-law.

Q. You have been the representative of the United States Government abroad at one time? A. I have.

Q. Minister to Turkey, was it not? A. Consul-General and Agent Diplomatique to Egypt.

Q. You have been for a great many years connected with the fraternal and benevolent societies of the Hebrew people? A. Yes.

Q. You are familiar in a general way with the measures taken by those people for the reception and dissemination of the immigration that comes into this country? A. I am.

Q. Would you, in your own language, briefly outline the work that has been done in that direction as it has come under your own knowledge? A. Before I answer fully, I simply wish to ask, independent of what may be put down here, shall I answer in my own

way or shall I state the matter chronologically or historically?

Q. The custom of the commission has usually been to permit the witness to make a written or oral statement, outlining the line of evidence that he desires to give, and this naturally leads up to questions by the members of the commission; you have been connected with the organization of B'nai B'rith, have you not? A. Yes.

Q. You are at the present time vice-president of that organization? A. I was up to last May.

Q. Is that an organization having, in a general way, charge of these matters? A. No; I will explain.

Q. Then go on in your own way. A. I will explain. In the first place, the Jews of the United States have never, neither in their collective nor individual capacity, had any organization looking to or aiming at Jewish immigration in any way or manner. The exodus caused by persecution in Russia in 1882 was the first cause to stir the people of our faith, citizens of the United States, to care for, to distribute, and assimilate those of the sufferers who had found their way to this country. At that time leading representatives of the Jews of the United States met in the City of New York, and fearing that the large number of people that would be dumped on the United States would become not only a menace for the moment, but a great burden upon their coreligionists, representative men were appointed to go to Europe and confer with leading Jews of London, Berlin, Frankfort, Vienna, Paris, and other centers, to prevent this wholesale immigration and to divert as much as possible the large stream of unfortunate refugees. Notices were published in the Jewish

press of the disturbed districts, warning the people against precipitate flight from their homes, and especially against indiscriminate emigration to America. A great deal was accomplished at that time, and but a fraction of the immense number of expatriated Jews of Russia came here. Those that came were taken in hand by the generous-hearted citizens of the United States of Jewish faith, and measures were concerted, so that they should not become a burden upon the country or upon local communities. Thus, for instance, we received some ten or fifteen families here in Washington, for whom we cared. They were men that were engaged in various industries. One was a shoemaker, another a carpenter, another had been a dairyman, and as a type of what was done all over the country—for one man we purchased cows, and he sold the milk; for another we purchased a horse, and he did work on the roads; to another man we furnished tools for his carpenter's trade, and for another man, tools for his work as a shoemaker. These people have maintained themselves and are now in the city, as others like them are in nearly every center of our country, industrious, law-abiding, prosperous citizens.

The exodus continued for a year or two and then diminished for seven or eight years, until 1891, when all at once the same conditions, only aggravated, broke out again in Russia. It was at that time that Baron Maurice de Hirsch, the well-known Jewish philanthropist, whose acts of benevolence have become known throughout the world, offered the Czar some ten millions of dollars for the purpose of establishing secular primary schools for the Russian Jews, whose children were practically debarred from the public

schools. Historically it is stated that the Czar was willing and anxious to comply, but the ruling party of nobility of Russia prevented it, and the persecutions, more terrible than ever, were renewed. The neighboring states of Austria and Germany attempted to stem the tide of the fleeing refugees, and these poor people were hounded from pillar to post, until their condition became most deplorable. Nothing in the history of mankind has been more heartrending than the condition of the unfortunate Jews. Despite the efforts to avoid it, a considerable number of the refugees came to the United States, and a large proportion of the emigrants settled in New York City. The American Jews at once addressed themselves to the task of Americanizing the newcomers. Special attention was given to the danger of pauperizing these people by unscientific charity, therefore the greatest efforts were directed to educational methods. To advance these and the moral, mental, and physical condition of the poorer Jews, a considerable fund was provided by Baron de Hirsch, and the same was augmented lately by his noble widow, the Baroness. What is known as the Baron de Hirsch Fund is managed by trustees, of which Judge Meyer S. Isaacs is the President, Hon. Oscar S. Straus, lately our Minister to Turkey, Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, the philanthropist, Mr. Jesse Seligman, and the late Mr. Hoffman, of New York, and Mr. W. B. Hackenburg and Judge Mayer Sulzberger, of Philadelphia, are members. The trustees have built industrial schools at various centers and have in general achieved splendid results. The Jews of New York established the great Educational Alliance on

East Broadway, the attendance upon which averages in excess of 5,000 persons per day. The Baroness de Hirsch made a loan of $100,000 to the building fund of this institution, and thereafter, being so much impressed by its usefulness, made a gift of the mortgage to the Alliance. This institution has taken an active part in the vice crusade that is now being waged in New York City. Mr. Isidore Straus is president. There also exists the Hebrew Technical Institute which educates Jewish boys for mechanical pursuits. Mr. Steinam, of New York City, recently gave $100,000 to establish the metal working department. The institution has been achieving wonderful success and is one of the great factors in eliminating mendicancy and pauperism.

Q. (Interrupting) Is the Alliance the one with which Mr. Blaustein is connected? A. Yes. That has been thoroughly established and is doing a vast amount of good. No doubt you are aware of the educational methods pursued in all these efforts. The Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence are made a part of the educational system, and on every desk of the children there is a tiny United States flag, and the duties of patriotism are inculcated in the fullest degree. The Baron de Hirsch Fund has also founded, or rather stimulated and encouraged, what had previously been founded under the first exodus of Russian refugees, the well-known "Vineland Colony" and other colonies in New Jersey, and various settlements in Connecticut. Those in New Jersey, however, have proven most effective and prosperous. They are doing admirable work there. In these different settlements are farmers, tilling the soil as their ancestors

did thousands of years ago. They are a sober and law-abiding people. They have no drinking shops and no police—there are none necessary. They take care of themselves, and various industries have been built up there in Vineland and other parts of New Jersey.

Q. (By Mr. Phillips) What is the population, please, of Vineland? A. Of Vineland? I can supply it if a space is left, but I am not prepared to give the exact figures. I will incorporate the figures.

From the independent New Jersey colonies at Alliance, Norma, Carmel, and Rosenhayn, we are in receipt of detailed reports by Mr. J. C. Reis, one of the most earnest-minded and resolute of the later settlers at Norma. From these it appears that the settlement at Alliance and around its railway station, Norma, contains 512 inhabitants, composing 96 families. Of these, 33 families are devoted exclusively to farming; 12 to farming and tailoring combined; 36 to farming and other workshop occupations; 15 to tailoring exclusively. They own over 1,500 acres of land, of which 530 are in fruit cultivation, 577 are devoted to truck raising, and the remainder is uncultivated. There are 87 dwelling houses and 141 additional buildings. The total valuation is $112,000, of which $44,000 is unpaid. Value of last year's product was $17,808, of which $10,712 worth was sold and the remainder consumed. They own 55 horses, 79 cows, and 4,700 chickens.

Carmel contains 89 Jewish families, comprising 471 individuals. The exclusively farming families number 19, farming and tailoring 14, farming and trades other than tailoring 23, and tailoring exclusively 33. They own 1,029 acres of land—113 under fruit, 504 under truck, and 456 uncultivated. There are 46 dwelling

houses occupied, besides a number that are vacant, and 86 occupied outbuildings. Their holdings are valued at $84,574, on which there remains an indebtedness of $26,273. The yearly product is valued at $12,585, of which $8,200 was sold and the remainder consumed. They have 36 horses, 114 cows, and 3,300 chickens.

The figures for Rosenhayn were obtained by Professor A. L. Sabsovich, the well-known superintendent of the Woodbine Colony. At this place there are 47 settlers, holding a total of 1,388 acres, of which 948 are under cultivation. These colonists have 7,215 fruit trees, 28,770 grape vines, 128 horses and cows, and 6,000 chickens. The valuation is $85,520, on which there is an indebtedness of $26,986.

From these accounts it is manifest that these colonists have quite passed the problematic stage, although some of the colonists are still insecure in their holdings. All would be greatly helped and the general cause be greatly furthered if some of the efforts now being given to less promising fields of philanthropy were devoted to the educational and material upbuilding of these settlements. The establishment of a properly equipped wine press and of a canning factory, under competent business direction, would be a great desideratum to the end in view.

Q. (By Mr. Litchman) You speak of Vineland. That is a village, adjoining Vineland—It is not Vineland proper? A. No, but it is usually so designated. Vineland was the post-office originally; now there are four post-offices in the colonies.

Q. There is another settlement further down in Jersey, Woodbine, is it not? A. Yes.

Q. I have visited that. A. Now, in all these movements and in all these endeavors there has never been on the part of the Jews of the United States any organized effort or any organization that stimulated, encouraged, desired, or wished this wholesale influx of their coreligionists, and for the very natural reason that as the traditions and customs and habits of the Jews from time immemorial have been to help their own, the larger the number of unfortunates that would come here, the larger the burden that would fall upon the shoulders of our older Jewish communities; and while our hearts were surcharged, as every human being's should be, with pity and sympathy, we naturally preferred that they should remain in the countries in which they had been born, provided they could there enjoy at least the immunities, if not the privileges, of their fellow-countrymen. But this has legally been made impossible in Russia and Roumania. By studying the tables of immigration as furnished by General Powderly, you will find that the streams of immigration, or rather of refugees, came mainly from the Slavic states, and within the last few years from Austria and its Slavic provinces. From the countries where the Jew is treated with equality and is recognized as a citizen, there has been scarcely any emigration at all. The people are reasonably happy in their respective countries, and they accordingly do not leave their native lands, even for the greater opportunities they would naturally enjoy here. In 1870, when the political ferment in the Balkan States, which afterwards resulted in the Russo-Turkish War, was beginning to be of international importance, our Government for the first time felt called upon to have a diplomatic

agent in Roumania, and for that purpose, at my request, President Grant accredited Mr. Benjamin F. Peixotto to the Roumanian Government. Mr. Peixotto had been for five years the head of the Order of B'nai B'rith, and with the consent of our State Department, he took steps looking to the political amelioration of the Roumanian Jews, with the view of preventing their enforced emigration from their homes. He founded the Society of Zion, on the exact model of the Order B'nai B'rith, and organized it especially as an educational agency, open and subject to governmental supervision. This society, through Mr. Peixotto, aided in bringing about the recognition of the Jews in the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. By the provision of this treaty, through the efforts especially of Lord Beaconsfield and Prince Bismarck, the political rights of the Jews in Roumania were guaranteed, and for a number of years the Jews of Roumania did enjoy a higher degree of tolerance and protection. But within the last two years, as a result perhaps of the Dreyfus agitation, anti-Semitism broke out afresh in Roumania, and over twenty thousand men and women of that country have recently been compelled to leave their country, harassed, antagonized, persecuted, maligned, every privilege of humanity denied them, through the malignant conduct of the ministry of that period. The present ministry is more liberal, but how long it will last, remains to be seen.

It was owing to this immigration, which stared us in the face, that the Order of B'nai B'rith, at is convention last May in Chicago, where representatives from Gallicia and Roumania were present as delegates, determined to assist in relieving the burdens of

the general community, by distributing in various parts of the United States such of the refugees as should come here. Prior to this, however, correspondence by cable, as well as by post, had been carried on with the various communities of Europe, by Leo N. Levi, the present President of the Order, urging them to prevent all but those fully competent to maintain themselves, from coming to these shores. The stream of emigration was accordingly largely diverted; some of these people were attracted by the Zionist movement in Palestine and went there; others went to Anatolia and to Cyprus, and some went to Argentine. Every effort was made on the part of the Jews of the United States, and especially by the Order of B'nai B'rith, to prevent wholesale emigration to this country, and we accomplished the purpose. The number of immigrants and refugees that came here has been comparatively small and of a very high order of manhood and womanhood,—people of a very superior character,—artisans and mechanics. One ship came over with 119 persons, every one caring for him or herself, and able at once to go forward to the various centers in the interior of the country to make a living without becoming a burden.

You will find in the report of Robert Watchhorn, special agent of the Bureau of Immigration of the Treasury Department, that he found the condition in Roumania exactly as I have described it, and he praises in no unstinted words the character, ability, intelligence and moral worth of these people. The Order of B'nai B'rith sent out a circular letter through its executive committee, of which I am one, to correspondents in all the cities of the United States, and

even small villages, where there was a lodge of the Order of B'nai B'rith, or where there was a Jewish congregation, asking them, in a set of questions, how many persons they could care for in their respective communities, how many men, how many women, how many children, of what vocation they wanted them.

Prompt responses have been had from all parts of the United States, so that these Roumanian refugees, instead of remaining in the seaboard cities have, to a very large degree, been scattered about in the great beehive of our American commonwealth, and have in no way whatever become a burden or a menace.

The Order of B'nai B'rith is nearly 60 years of age. It was founded by a number of earnest-minded men, by German immigrants mostly, who had come here under normal conditions as other immigrants came in those times, and it has had for its main object the Americanization of its members, and in this direction accomplished a vast amount of educational work. The president of the organization, during thirty-five years ending May, 1900, was Mr. Julius Bien, of New York, well known as a leading cartographer, and as a map-maker for many departments of our Government. Under his direction the Order spread throughout America and has been successfully established in Europe, and there are lodges of the organization in Austria, in Germany, in Roumania, in the Holy Land, and efforts are now being made to start one in France.

Thus you will see the scope and wide range of use-

fulness of this Order of B'nai B'rith as an agency of commercial and national progress. Its function is primarily one of education, and it strives to elevate the moral and intellectual standard of its members and to fit them to become worthy citizens of the United States.

Q. (By Mr. Litchman): Right there, would it not be well to say something concerning the membership and resources of the organization in this country, and so on?—A. The membership of this organization is at present about 20,000. It has seven districts in the United States and three in Europe. The fifth district, for instance, in which Washington is included, combines the District of Columbia, Virginia, Maryland, North and South Carolina, and Georgia.

I would state that it is not only in the direction of education that this organization and kindred organizations have worked, but also in the founding of hospitals, of homes for the aged, or orphan asylums for the unfortunate children, free libraries, and industrial schools.

In the city of Cleveland there exists, I suppose, one of the model orphan asylums of the world. It has been so regarded. In the city of Atlanta there is an orphan home established by the Order, of which I have been the president since its foundation, twenty-five years ago. In Yonkers the Order has a home for the aged. In Philadelphia there is a hospital, originally initiated by the Order, and open to all people, irrespective of faith, and a manual training school directly controlled by it. In New Orleans

there is a hospital and a home founded by Judah Touro, but now largely maintained and endowed by this Order. In New York there is what is known as the Maimonides Library, and the number of books taken from that library, in comparison with the public libraries of New York, is far in excess.

But the work of the B'nai B'rith is only part of what has been done to further the effective assimilation of the Russian Jewish refugees in our American commonalty. In every large city and in many of the minor towns of the country, societies have been organized and have worked earnestly to that end. In New York a vast network of affiliated organizations, ramifies from the central body of the United Hebrew Charities, all dealing almost exclusively with this element of the population. Besides the aid given for the relief of actual physical necessities, including hospitals, orphan asylums, churches, and other like institutions, there are centered in the Educational Alliance a system of day schools, night schools, and manual training schools, which afford instruction to thousands of pupils, among whom may be found pupils of all ages of both sexes, and a similar situation is presented in Philadelphia, where the Foster Home, the Hebrew Education Society, with its day, night and industrial schools, the Maternity Hospital, and the United Hebrew Charities, as well as the National Farm School at Doylestown, all deal with practically no other class than the Russian Jews. A similar condition prevails in Baltimore, in Boston, in Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, Portland, Oregon, and, in fact, as already stated, in all the larger communities throughout the land. In

Chicago, notably, a very widely ramified system of charity is established, including especially a manual training school of the first rank. There is also the great hospital founded by the heirs of Michael Reese and open to comers of every faith.

You will understand, gentlemen, that the revolution of 1848 brought the first notable number of Jews to this country; they were principally Germans who have since become among the foremost citizens of our country, active in war as well as peace. Many of these immigrants still live, and they and their descendants feel a keen interest in their coreligionists who are oppressed and persecuted, aside from the interest they take in the cause of humanity generally.

I have been for the last twenty-five years the president of the "Committee on Civil and Religious Rights," of "The Union of American Hebrew Congregations" of the United States. This organization maintains a college in Cincinnati, which was founded by the late Dr. I. M. Wise, and which is well known and recognized as a great educational institution. And throughout these twenty-five years I have had more or less intimate connection and frequent contact with the various branches of our Government, especially the Immigration Bureau and the State Department, in caring for and protecting the rights of the Jews, individually or collectively, at home and abroad, as far as it came within the power of an American citizen so to do, and without infringing the laws of our country.

As I said in part of my answer, or rather statement, so far from there having been any systematic effort to stimulate immigration, all our strivings have been

to regulate and, if possible, to reduce it. Whatever has been done has been in the nature of humanity, of protection, of education, of assimilation; and we are thoroughly in sympathy with every effort of this Government to prevent improper immigration, or such as may prove inimical to this country.

We are in full accord with the laws that have been passed to prevent the immigration of criminals or paupers or diseased persons or any persons that are unfit to enjoy the franchise of our Government; but we do know one fact, and it cannot be too strongly emphasized, that the vast majority of the immigrants of all nationalities who have for the last 50 or 60 years come to this country, and who are now the bone and sinew of American citizenship, came in practically the same conditions of financial poverty as the majority of the immigrants come now—a poverty which is often made the pretext for projects of exclusion.

I remember when I came with my grandparents in 1848 who had scarcely five dollars to our name. A relative who had come 5 or 6 years prior met us and cared for us. I do not wish for a moment to insinuate that the country has specially profited by my being permitted to land, but I am sure it has not lost anything; and so it has been with nearly all of the immigrants who have come here, and many of whom have made this country greater and more happy.

There is no fund available in this country either by the Order of B'nai B'rith or by the Baron de Hirsch Fund that can be used for the purpose of paying the transportation hither of any of these refugees or unfortunate immigrants—not a dollar of it, as far as I know.

Q. How are the funds provided for this charitable work and this work of distribution to which you have referred? A. The transportation to the different points in the interior of the country is paid out of the charity funds of the various larger communities. At the seaboard cities the Baron de Hirsch Fund contributes so as to relieve these centers and to send these people to the various places to which they have been allotted.

Q. How are these various asylums maintained to which you have referred? A. They are maintained solely by the voluntary contributions of the members of the Order and of the Jews generally of the respective districts. In addition, I may take occasion to state that in Denver there was founded last year a hospital for Jewish consumptives, which is maintained largely by the Order of B'nai B'rith, each member of the Order in the United States contributing 25 cents annually toward the maintenance, and Jews from all over the country becoming annual subscribers. One of the lady agents of this institution was here the other day, and I went around with her, and in a short time we succeeded in raising $500 annual contributions for that very worthy charity which takes in no pay patients whatever—only those who are unfortunate and unable to care for themselves.

Q. (By Mr. Phillips): Is there any objection to the existence of that institution in Colorado? A. Objection?

Q. Yes; among the citizens in the community. A. None at all. In Denver there are six or seven hospitals caring for consumptives who pay, and this institution is only another of similar character. You

see, Jewish consumptives were flocking to Denver on account of the climate, and they became a great tax and burden upon that small Jewish community, and hence their coreligionists throughout the country and the Order of B'nai B'rith took it up and assisted. A number of philanthropists in different parts of the country gave a thousand to five thousand each; one gentleman gave ten thousand, and Mr. Grabfelder, of Louisville, the president of the hospital, gave twenty thousand dollars.

Q. (By Mr. Litchman): These institutions are also maintained by bequests by benevolent Jewish people? A. Yes. Thus, for instance, I received for the home in Atlanta, from the Baroness de Hirsch $7,500 and she showed her liberality and her world-wide recognition of all faiths in that, when I wrote to her, she sent me a check for $5,000 for Garfield Hospital of this city. Furthermore, quite a number of members of the Order and other Jews have insured their lives for the benefit of the homes for the aged and orphan asylums. The other day I received checks from the relatives of three persons that had died, who had insured their lives for the benefit of the orphan home in Atlanta, each of them for $1,000. Bequests are made frequently. I was called up day before yesterday by a gentleman from Richmond, wanting to know the exact title of the Hebrew Orphan Home in Atlanta, as a client of his wanted to leave something by will. And what is true of the home in Atlanta is unquestionably equally true of almost every one of these institutions. They do not receive a dollar of tax from any public or State treasury, except in New York. Of course, there are quite a

large number of Christian friends living in the communities where these institutions exist, recognizing the worth and value of these institutions, who undoubtedly contribute annually and possibly leave something in their will. But they are not very numerous, as we do not make propaganda in that direction, as we have a pride in caring for our own, apart from doing our share as citizens in every other direction.

Q. I have visited this orphan asylum at Cleveland to which you refer and will endorse everything you may say in regard to its excellence. Does your work contemplate and carry out in some localities manual training for the younger portion of your people? A. It does in Cleveland, in Chicago, in Philadelphia, and in Atlanta. In the Atlanta asylum we not only care for the orphans while they are with us, but we try to secure for them employment afterwards. We educate the girls to be housemaids and cooks—the great social problem in the future of our country; and the boys become mechanics, artisans, doctors, farmers, and stenographers and typewriters. We have had two weddings in our orphan home in the last three years. After the girls have gone away, they consider themselves still under our guardianship, and the weddings were held at the home; all the children were present and had a glorious time.

Q. Is not this the case also at Woodbine in New Jersey?—A. Absolutely and in Philadelphia, as I have already remarked, there is an industrial school under the Order of the B'nai B'rith; and we have industrial schools under the Order of B'nai B'rith in Jaffa and in Jerusalem. Indeed, when I was Consul

General of our country, I aided in the starting of a lodge of the Order at Cairo, Egypt, which has done a large amount of good; and all the good done in this direction, naturally, like a wave current, reacts to aid us here.

Q. (By Mr. Phillips): At some point in your statement, will you come to the number of the Israelites or Jewish people in the world? Have you any idea of about the number?—A. Yes; there are at present between nine and ten millions.

Q. How are they distributed?—A. There are between five and six millions in Russia.

Q. Indeed?—A. Yes, and the others are scattered all over the world.

Q. Could you give the reason why so many have drifted into Russia?—A. Yes, briefly; they moved eastward from the Rhineland under the stress of persecutions during the middle ages, and were welcomed by the Kings of Bohemia and Poland. They grew in numbers there and lived at peace until Bohemia was conquered by the Hapsburgs, of Austria, and later when Poland became a prey to the Muscovites. Since then, especially in Poland and Lithuania, the Jews have suffered in common with the Roman Catholics and Baptists from the political and religious enmity of the ruling Russians. A considerable number found their way to Central Europe after their expulsion from Spain.

Q. About the time Columbus discovered this country—in that persecution?—A. Yes.

Q. At the time of the establishment of the inquisition?—A. Yes. In 1876 Mr. Hackenburg, of Philadelphia, and myself, tabulated a census of the Jews in

the United States, and at that time—in 1876—there were only, as far as we could find, 150,000 Jews in the United States. But owing to these persecutions in other lands, that number has, of course, very largely increased. I suppose there are at present in the United States between 800,000 and 900,000 Jews. Yet, as I have shown in a book published by me entitled "The American Jew as Soldier, Patriot, and Citizen," there were a larger number of Jews in the Northern and Southern armies, in proportion to their numbers, then of any other faith in the United States.

Q. (By Mr. Litchman): Is there any means by which the Jewish population of the United States is shown in the census of 1900?—A. I think not, except so far as the congregations would show. There has been a question and a contention, of which you are no doubt aware, as to scheduling or tabulating the immigrant Jews as Jews. I protested against this classification to Mr. Powderly, and we had a conference in the city of New York at which he and some of the agents were present. People come in as Austrians, Italians, Germans, Greeks and not as Catholics, Protestants, or Jews. The religious proclivities of the individual are no concern of the United States. And I believe the Attorney-General, in answer to the question propounded by the superintendent of the present census, sustained that view. That is a matter, however, which you can easily ascertain.

Q. How, then, can you form an estimate that there are but 800,000 Jews in the United States?—A. I say we ourselves have estimated that number. The synagogues are given, their number, their location, their membership, just as other places of worship.

Q. (By Mr. Phillips): About what per cent. of the Jewish people belong to the church, attend synagogue worship?—A. Among the orthodox, those who adhere strictly to the ancient Jewish ritual and liturgy, nearly all are members of the synagogue; of the reform Jews, there is quite a contingent that are not members of any congregation, yet contribute to every Jewish charity, and every Jewish educational enterprise. Of course, I do not suppose you want to go into the difference between the orthodox and the reform element?

Mr. Farquhar: I do not think the Commission cares anything about that. It is a doctrinal matter.

Q. (By Mr. Litchman): Is there anything else in relation to the matter that you think of, Mr. Wolf, that you care to state?—A. There are statistics and some matters that may have to go in to give you an intelligent idea of what I have said, which I will ask the liberty of incorporating.

Q. Your testimony will be transcribed and submitted to you, and you can supply those things at that time if you please.—A. Very well.

Q. (By Mr. Phillips): You spoke of the general thrift of the Jewish people. How is it in New York, in the Jewish settlements? Are not a great many of them, or quite a large per cent., engaged in the sweatshop work in that quarter of the city?—A. There have been, and undoubtedly still are, many undesirable conditions in that respect, but much has been done to ameliorate these conditions and to prevent their growth. The so-called sweatshop system is not at the present time in so serious a condition as it was a few years ago, owing to the people in

New York having taken hold of it energetically and systematically and intelligently.

Q. Well, in that portion of the city about where Five Points used to be, how do the Jewish people compare with the Italians and others that are immigrants to this country, in sweatshop work?—A. There is, strictly speaking, no such comparison to be made, because the Jews of that section are of a far higher grade of manhood and intelligence. As the New York Sun stated in an editorial a few years ago, when there was a great deal of trouble among the laboring men, the Jewish laborers, when Friday evening came and the Sabbath commenced, withdrew from all the deliberations and from the vicinity of their shops to their places of worship, and were always law-abiding and orderly, showing a high grade of moral and religious instinct, which the others never did.

Q. You think there are not as many of them engaged in the sweating industry as of other elements?—A. The sweat shops or, more accurately, the small shops, are those of the tailoring industry, and the operators are nearly all Russian Jews. But the Educational Alliance and the industrial schools of which I have spoken in the early part of my answer are all in that locality, and thus, as you can easily imagine, a very beneficial influence is exercised in that quarter.

Q. The impression is prevalent, however, that a large per cent. of the immigrants and of the Jewish people have been engaged in the sweatshop service and work. That impression seems to prevail.—A. I am aware of it. But it is not accurate. The subject has been taken hold of and investigated by in-

telligent and impartial American citizens, not of the Jewish faith, and much of the popular impression regarding the matter was found to be exaggerated.

Q. Have the Jewish people been as competitive among themselves as the Aryan race?—A. Competitive? There is far more mutual help and charity among these Russian Jewish working people than among immigrants of other faiths, but there is also a keener, and more searching competition. The Jew is innately individualistic, optimistic, and ambitious. He accepts charity only as a last resource, and would rather work for half a loaf than take a whole one in charity. The poor immigrant may accept a low wage as better than none, but he is sharp to further his own interest and uses the low wage only as a stepping stone to a higher one. As a result, the strife between the wage taken and the wage given, and between the members of each class comparatively, is sharper and keener than among the newcomers. In general, I may say that the economic questions involved in the presence of the Russian Jews is one that would quickly solve itself and vanish from our consideration, if but the condition out of which it has grown were normalized. So long as these people are forced out from their homes as they have been, we here, in this land of freedom and of hope, must permit them to find here an asylum, as all of us here have found one in the past. But we may reasonably suggest to our Government, and this Commission is in a position to make the suggestion, that it might use its influence with the government of the Czar to do justice to his Jewish subjects and not to enforce on the American people the alternative of a choice between taking the

burden of alleviating the miseries of Russian oppression, or shutting our gates against its victims.

The late President Harrison stated in the following forcible language, in his third message to Congress, the feeling of each and every citizen of the United States:

"This Government has found occasion to express in a friendly spirit, but with much earnestness, to the government of the Czar its serious concern because of the harsh measures now being enforced against the Hebrews in Russia. By the revival of anti-Semitic laws, long in abeyance, great numbers of those unfortunate people have been constrained to abandon their homes and leave the Empire by reason of the impossibility of finding subsistence within the pale to which it is sought to confine them. The immigration of these people to the United States—many other countries being closed to them—is largely increasing, and is likely to assume proportions which may make it difficult to find homes and employment for them here and to seriously affect the labor market. It is estimated that over 1,000,000 will be forced from Russia within a few years. The Hebrew is never a beggar; he has always kept the laws—life by toil—often under severe and oppressive civil restrictions. It is also true that no race, sect, or class has more fully cared for its own than the Hebrew race. But the sudden transfer of such a multitude under conditions that tend to strip them of their small accumulations and to depress their energies and courage is neither good for them nor for us. The banishment, whether by direct decree or by not less certain indirect methods, of so large a number of men and wo-

men is not a local question. A decree to leave one country is in the nature of things an order to enter another—some other. This consideration, as well as the suggestion of humanity, furnishes ample ground for the remonstrances which we have presented to Russia, while our historic friendship for that government cannot fail to give the assurance that our representations are those of a sincere well-wisher."

Mr. Wolf furnished an exhaustive report made by Mr. Louis E. Levy, of Philadelphia, on immigration, which has been printed and extensively circulated.

PATRIOTISM AND RELIGION*

THE virtue of patriotism is not a sectional growth. In its cultivation, no particular nation or individual can claim superiority over any other nation or fellow-man: nor does it find its only expression in love of home and of country. Patriotism has its inspiration and derives its strength in the domain of religion, as well as in that of love of country. For if to fight for the flag of the land of your birth or adoption, or if to be inspired with a great and honorable sense of duty to your country is to be patriotic, it is no less so to be willing to die for one's religion, and to uphold at whatever sacrifice its tenets and teachings. In other words, I claim that no man can be a good citizen without being true to the highest teachings of his faith, and no man can be a good Jew or Christian without being inspired with a patriotic love for the land of his birth, and a spirit of justice in his dealings with his fellowmen.

In my humble opinion, there is an absolute necessity of realizing these principles and of teaching them to the younger generation. For us in this new-world environment, the days of the Tephilin have passed, but instead thereof, we should bind upon our foreheads those principles of right and justice, of good citizenship and good government which the Tephilin symbolize, which recognize all men as brethren, and which are conducive to the happiness of all mankind.

*Paper read before the Summer Assembly of the Jewish Chautauqua, Atlantic City, July 27th, 1897.

From time immemorial the Jew has been thoroughly patriotic. In his temple or synagogue, as well as in his home, he has been taught to offer up prayers for the government under which he lives, for the authorities who execute the laws, and to offer up blessings for those, irrespective of faith, who do their duty and who contribute to the amelioration and betterment of the world, thus inculcating a broadness of spirit, a liberal regard for varying tenets, and a cosmopolitan temper that has extorted the praise of adversaries, and that shall commend itself to every mind.

The Jew, however much persecuted, has always borne that persecution in a spirit of the loftiest patriotism, looking upon himself as a sentinel at the forefront of civilization, as an out-post of humanity in furthering right and repelling wrong, ready to sacrifice even life in behalf of that which is just, true and immortal.

Thus, in every country of the globe, have been shown examples of heroism, of self-abnegation, of disinterestedness, that vie with, and in many instances surpass, any others in the annals of humanity.

There is sufficient evidence on record to prove conclusively that we have every reason to be proud of our past, and that that it is only cant or the veriest ignorance on the part of non-Jews when they condescend to concede our rights in the mere spirit of toleration; for if any condescension were in reason, it should be in the reverse order. I have no patience with or sympathy for the Jew who allows anything of this kind to transpire, without resenting it both publicly and privately.

The Jew is patriotic because it is part of his re-

ligion and part of his history. It is the aim of his life, no matter where placed, or how circumstanced, to be happy and content in his domestic circle, and to contribute by his activity to the happiness of others. In that respect he is an example and model for all the nations of the earth, no matter how much he may be misunderstood or unappreciated. Facts of history cannot be obliterated; they are positive and irresistible, and it is this very insistence of history that has caused so much friction and so much jealousy on the part of non-Jews. That we have outlived the storm and stress of the centuries, and that, however much we may have suffered, we still hold our place, fearless and unabashed in the light of advancing civilization, striving in the foremost ranks in every land, not only on the field of battle, but in the domain of intellect and thought as well, is a thorn to those who cannot recognize the mysterious ways of Providence, nor comprehend the irresistible logic of a life of sobriety.

Time makes all things even, and in its leveling course we find ourselves in these United States, citizens of a common country, banded together for the perpetuity of its institutions, pledging ourselves to advance its best interests in every direction.

In our Sabbath schools, in our orphan homes, and indeed, in all the public institutions under our control, love of country and of fellowmen is taught and enforced, and a most inspiring spectacle is afforded by the manual training schools in the larger cities of our land, where the offspring of the persecuted Russian Jews are taught; where the flag of our country floats over every desk, and where the love of and for what

it represents is made part of the daily teachings. How the 4th of July, with all its glorious inspiration is there interpreted; how the Constitution of the United States is explained; how they are taught the difference between a country of freedom and one of tyranny; how much stress is laid on the fact that they cannot be good Jews without being good American citizens; that they must not harbor ill-feeling towards those not born in their faith, but must constantly treat each and every one justly, equitably, and honorably: If that is not the highest phase and exposition of patriotism, I would like some anti-Semitic professor to tell me what is. This has been too often erroneously called an age of materialism: I deny the statement. There never has been, in the world's history, a time when there was so much good taught and practised as in the present era. There is an evolution for right and justice in all directions, and it is this spirit of progress that fills life with eager interest for all things else.

This very Chautauqua assembly is a beautiful example of the modern spirit. What wise-acre of the past could have foreseen that at a summer resort, at the ocean's strand, there would be a school, teaching old and young the lessons of life, full of import, instruction and interest; that men and women would be found in sufficient numbers who would enlist themselves energetically, even in the lethargic summer months, to aid in the upbuilding of the physical, moral, and mental well-being of others?

Careful study of the current literature of our country, not to speak of others, has given me the pleasing assurance that true patriotism is on the increase; that

philanthropy and charity, which are handmaidens of honor and patriotism, are widening their scope; that a desire to contribute to the amelioration of others, and to relieve want and misfortune, is more dominant than ever before; that men and women of wealth do not only leave legacies for public good, but during their life-time practice the noblest traits of humanity; that the spirit of enlightenment, which has steadily widened its sway since the tablets of the law were given at Sinai, and which found its truest political interpretation and greatest promise of perpetuity on the 4th of July, 1776, is becoming more and more universal, and that this after-glow of Sinai is enlightening not only our blessed land, but is gradually extending its rays into the darkest corners of the earth.

After all, the stories that are told in the "Arabian Nights" are constantly reproduced in actual life, for if any one had ventured in 1825 to prophesy that the Jews of England would some day be represented among the foremost Englishmen of all ages in every branch and profession, including the post of Premier, those predictions would have been looked upon as ridiculous and visionary, and yet they have proven absolutely true.

Apropos to this subject, a certain incident in the life of the parents of Queen Victoria is especially interesting. The Duke of Kent was a poor man and the intimate friend of Moses Montefiore. They had tastes in common. Montefiore liked the poor nobleman, and the nobleman admired Montefiore for his charity and his honesty. Their friendship was never strained by their discussions of political or religious topics. At the time when an heir was expected in

the family of the Duke of Kent, Montefiore urged his friend to take his wife to England, so that there might be no obstacle in the way of the child's advancing to the throne, although there were then three lives between it and the expected little stranger. The Duke confessed that his means would not permit him to take the course proposed, and Montefiore urged his friend to allow him to attend to the transportation and housing of the invalid Duchess. The journey was made, and the Duchess of Kent was attended by Montefiore's family physician. His kindness was never forgotten by the Duke, and the incident naturally but strengthened his friendship for Montefiore and his people. The removal of restrictions which had barred the Jews from social, commercial, and political equality was furthered through the influence of Moses Montefiore. He became Lord High Sheriff of London. Jews were chosen to the position of Lord Mayor, among them the father of the present incumbent, and 76 years after the little girl was born, on the day when the daughter of the poor Duke was the central figure in the greatest demonstration in the annals of the world, a Jewish Lord Mayor welcomed her at the gate of her imperial capital.

Indeed, from my standpoint, the Messiah has come: the Messiah of good fellowship, of kindness, of equality, of kinship among nations, and soul-life among individuals, the Messiah of affinities and human achievements, so that what happens in one country, reproduces itself in others. The spirit of liberty has been wafted from this country into other lands, and the political recognition and equality of the Jew in this country has had an important influence, and

has operated as a factor throughout the world. The advanced standing of the Jew in England has been of incalculable influence in continental Europe, and has contributed vastly to the prevention of cruelties and crimes which might otherwise have been practiced against the Jew in unenlightened countries. But unfortunately, what is true in the better event, is equally true in the reverse; the spirit of persecution, of tyranny and wrong in Russia has been an inspiration to bigotry in Austria and Germany, feeding there the smouldering fires of anti-Semitism.

But while we may for the moment suffer, and while the future may yet bring dark clouds across the horizon of our hopes, yet am I confident that the worst has passed; that the storm is on the wane; that the gloom is being dispersed and that the sun of righteousness, of justice and of enlightenment will, after all, shine over all the world, blessing and cementing the bonds of human kinship, irrespective of nationality or of religious belief.

The patriotism of the heart and soul, as well as of the brain, will unite all in this great work; in this, the Jewish men and women of our land will be earnest co-laborers, and the Jewish Chautauqua, now growing into strength and grace, will be one of the main pillars in the great temple of progress, enlightenment and freedom.

DAY OF ATONEMENT ADDRESS*

AGAIN we are assembled in commemoration of a day as historical as it is religious. A day to which are attached memories, not only of a sacred character but also of a kind to awaken in our understandings the import of our dual natures, for as the virtues and the vices—like the ascending and descending buckets in the well—rise and fall, for betterment or destruction, so the celebration of this sacred day is illustrative, for during the whole year, we may be more or less indifferent. On this day, we are aroused by tradition, by history, by philosophy, by religion, and by the thousand and one objects that make life bearable, teaching us there is something more than mere physical want to gratify. We approach this day, first as Jews; second as citizens. As Jews, it is our business to uphold, so far as is consistent with reason, with sense, and with loyalty to the state, those obligations of faith anld belief, which from time immemorial, have been observed by our fathers, and which are conducive to peace, happiness and contentment.

There is, practically, very little difference in the various faiths among intelligent people. A firm belief in the Supreme Being should be, and no doubt, is the foundation for all. The manner of approach to this divine spirit, and the forms used for that purpose, mark the dividing line and the differences. Un-

*Delivered at the Eighth Street Temple, Washington, September 20th, 1893.

fortunately, these forms and differences have been the cause of untold misery and suffering. Trivial as they sometimes are, they have been used as a weapon for countless wars, endless woe and misery, and no one in history, ancient or modern, has suffered more than the Jew; and yet, there is not in any part of his faith, in any of his books, whether sacred or not, in any of the written or unwritten tenets, anything that can be tortured into a spirit inimical to the state or to the religion of others. It is only when the line has been drawn on the Jew and he has become the object of public or private insult and persecution, that the Jew has fallen within restricted lines of thought, and just as his physical enjoyments were narrowed to the ghetto, so his mental, moral and spiritual nature became narrowed to the environments, save and except a deathless devotion to the faith of his fathers, never a doubt of God, but unfortunately instilling into him and transmitting to his persecuted descendants a feeling of enmity and rancor which only a higher civilization has been enabled to soften and gradually change.

Is it to be wondered at, that the victim of persecution for conscience sake, the outcast and pariah from moral obligations, should come to the land of absolute freedom, and be like a blind man who for years staggering in the dark, never believing in the blessed dawn of light, is all at once surrounded by that freedom which had been denied him, enjoys the blessings which he never dreamed of possessing, but remains unconscious of the motives and the genius that permit this happiness? Imagine some of our Christian friends born on American soil, going to Russia and

being there subject to the restraints and animosities and the thousand and one acts of devilish persecution. How would he or she feel under such circumstances? And so these unfortunate immigrants, brought here under stress of weather, driven here by no act of their own, compelled to seek an asylum in which to live, are like children, who need the government of parental authority. With these children you have to be patient, for they are incapable of speaking the English language, being in fact, scarcely able to speak any, except their broken jargon, and they have no faith in man, scarcely even in themselves, for they have been morally broken on the wheel of Russian inquisitions, and look upon everybody as their enemy. Ishmaelites, they regard every one as being against them, and they, in turn, are against every one else. Even we, who have been their best friends, suffering with them as kindred in faith, sympathizing with them as human beings, anxious as we are, not only for their own sake, but for our own, to improve their condition, yet we are regarded with more or less aversion and treated by them almost with the same fear, and lack of confidence, that non-Israelites are treated.

But this very condition, lamentable and deplorable as it is, should cause all men and women to unite together for the purpose of improving the condition of these unfortunates, for their elevation not only reflects upon one, but is bound to reflect upon all. Their degradation or low status is, after all, no fault of theirs. It has been brought about by their enemies, and what it has taken centuries to implant cannot be eradicated in a day. We, as Jews, are doing all in our power,

and the criticism indulged in by superficial writers and shallow thinkers, is incorrect. The bulk of the Jews, whether to the manner born, resident here for a long period, or only of a recent date, are taking pains to conduct themselves so as to invite the best and most favorable consideration, and not the worst. Because a few idle wage workers, tortured into desperation by hunger and enforced idleness, have fallen in their ignorance, victims to the blandishments of paid blatherskites (just as the best element of the wage earners for years have been victims of paid inter-meddlers, ranting, pretending friends,) — leading papers denounced the Jews as a class. Inflaming headlines displayed the names of the leading agitators, as if the Jew had not the right to be hungry and say so, or as if a laborer of Jewish faith had not the right to express in a peaceable manner his opinions and convictions. Not one of us has had or ever will have any sympathy for those who preach Anarchism, Nihilism or Socialism in the United States, for the moment the foot touches the soil of the United States, the gaunt figure of hate and persecution is lost in the brine and haze of the Atlantic Ocean; the spirit of fraternity reigns over all. The figure of liberty, welcoming the immigrant at the gate of the noble Bay in the city of New York, is typical and emblematic of the spirit that prevails throughout our land. And we Jews have told these immigrants that we have no sympathy with them in their unholy ignorance or stupid vaporings. We have tried to instil into them better ideas, knowing as we do, that the first thing to do, is to make them understand the language of the country, not only as incen-

tive to comprehend, but also a weapon for defense.

A writer in the "New York Sun" of last week, signing himself "Semi-occasional," and who is no other person than our esteemed fellow-citizen, Mr. A. S. Solomons, than whom no one knows better what he is writing about, says: "The Baron de Hirsch Fund English classes have been established since the fund was created, and have graduated into the public schools of our cities 1,000 of as well equipped children for their work, as any who enter the public schools. All these children enter the classes of the Baron de Hirsch School, which are located in the Hebrew Educational Institute, without understanding a word of the English language. They are of both sexes and are taught by our city Normal school graduates upon the same lines that obtain in the public schools, and, as is said by one of the principals, they leaven the mass of scholars, because they are so bright, obedient and diligent. There are to-day, 450 in the day classes and 350 in the evening classes, the latter being made up of men and girls who work in shops during the day. The primary intention in establishing the school was to Americanize these foreign Jews. American flags are to be found upon the walls of every class room. The Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence have been translated in parallel columns in Hebrew, Jargon and German, in order that they may fully understand every word, and it is used as a daily text-book in the schools. Patriotic songs are sung for the children, and on the 4th of July, the children recite the following pledge, entitled "Allegiance to the Flag:" I pledge allegiance to my flag, to the Republic for which it stands, one

nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. We give our heads and hearts for our country, one country, one language, one flag."

So you see, my friends, that the criticism of a non-Jewish press in regard to these people, has been unfounded and unjust, and that the Baron de Hirsch Fund is working on the only safe line whereby these Jews can be made good and useful citizens; possibly not all of those who are advanced in age and crippled by misfortune, but certainly those of the younger generation who will be the citizen of the future, and who will in time, vindicate by conduct, their appreciation.

I shall give you another object lesson, which the enemy of the Jew, the ignorant and vicious elements of society, who always uses us as scape-goats, may well profit by. "In the city of Chicago, great distress and suffering, incited by consequence of so many people being idle prevailed, Russian Jews organized a relief society. They devoted time and money in relieving the distress of all who applied for aid, and made no distinction of race or creed. Press and public have been loud in praise of the grand example set forth of true Jewish charity. On the last day, tickets were given out for 5,000 adults and 11,000 children. It required 15,000 pounds of bread and 25,000 pounds of meat. The total number of families relieved was 37,000, consisting of 44,000 adults and 69,000 children and required 100,000 pounds of bread and 124,000 pounds of meat. There were Germans, Russians, Poles, Swedes, in fact, representatives of every country on the continent. Two per cent of the total were Jews, the rest were Christians." What

better argument could be produced to prove once more, as has so often been done, the liberality and universal character of the Jew in all matters concerning benevolence and charity for whom there never exists the question, when relief is asked, as to what church the sufferer belongs. *It is enough for him to know that a human being is in want or misery,* and to the extent of his ability, aid is given, and cheerfully.

Another object lesson. "There is at present established by the same Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, a trade school, to create helpers and mechanics. They have departments in carpentry, wood-turning, wood-carving, iron work, machinists, plumbing and sign and wall painting, and artistic metal work, and electro-plating, and these departments are turning out hundreds of useful helpers." And in this connection, if any of those who hear me to-day, or any one that will read what I say, is in need of any of the trades that I have indicated, he will be doing, not only a service to himself, but contributing to the classes of the school, by corresponding with Col. J. E. Bloom, 225 East 9th Street, New York City, who will cheerfully answer any and all questions looking to the securing of places for these young mechanics. And it is not to be wondered at after all, that the great mass of the American people are groping in darkness as to what is being done by us, when, fortunately, the majority of our own people, are unconscious of it. Many of our own have not the best of feeling for these unfortunates and think that their status is in danger, by showing any sympathy or feeling for the unfortunate refugee. I will say to one and all that your status is in danger when you are negligent or indifferent, when

you are obdurate to your duty and hard-hearted in the discharge thereof, and your burdens of life will be lessened and the horizon of your usefulness widened, by taking an earnest and more active interest on and in behalf of these, our co-religionists, who are brought into our midst as rough blocks of marble out of which we, the artists, are to create statues, from whose countenances light of eternal truth and kindred spirit is to be reflected. And while we are discharging a national and inter-national duty, do not let us lose sight of our local wants. The charity association of this city, existing for the past two years, has done noble, and for Washington, unprecedented work. The year practically ending with this day, has been one of great suffering and want among many of our people of this city. Few of you are aware what has been done by the Executive Committee of the charity organization, and especially by its able, energetic, and indefatigable President. No one, unless he had the same experience, can know the amount of patience, time, good nature, and above all, disinterestedness necessary to produce satisfaction, comfort and happiness among these needy and suffering poor. Many have to be sought out, because their past condition does not warrant them in asking for aid; and these are the most deserving, and yet, unfortunately, often neglected. Therefore, be advised in time, that however much you may have done in the past, however much you may plead the stringency of the times, you must do your duty, for you have not got one dollar over and above that which is needed for your own or your family's wants, but what belongs in a measure, to the needy, to the hungry, and to the distressed.

If you have been fortunate, it is simply the will of God that has made you so and permits you to be his almoner, to make others, less fortunate, as happy as yourself, and to you has been given the exquisite pleasure and happiness of relieving the distressed and those in want of aid. All these object lessons in the moral education of your children, are worth all the college training which learned professors can give, for no education in the world is worth a cent, unless it is based upon a heart that beats for humanity, a heart surcharged with the noblest impulse for the betterment of our fellows. In a very few days a meeting will be convened, and I trust that men, women and children will be on hand to do their duty, and to prove what should require no proof, that we are again ready to replenish the depleted coffers of a deserving charity, and what this day truly means, will then be done in act.

During the past year, our young men and young women started an association to aid in the elements of culture, from which springs social and national recognition. Their success has been limited owing to the short period of their existence, and also to the lateness of the season in which they were organized. The association is deserving of our heartiest co-operation, and I trust this coming season, will evidence a warm and generous spirit on the part of these young people by the elders. The more we aid them, the more we save ourselves trouble and worry, for it is better to know that our children are surrounded by circumstances that lead to literary and moral attainments than to be surrounded by physical enticements and dangers. These young men have organized a course

of lectures which will be given during the coming winter by eminent scholars and thinkers, not only of our own people, but non-Israelites. I sincerely hope and trust that you will co-operate with them, as it will be an intellectual treat as well as a financial aid to them.

I beg leave to announce that I am President of the Board of Children's Guardians, who are caring for abandoned children, or such as have not the means to be properly taken care of. This is a society composed of the various religious denominations of the City, having lady and gentlemen representatives on the Board. Any one who is aware of Jewish children who ought to be cared for, whose parents are not in condition to clothe or educate them or who have no parents at all, are requested to make the fact known either to myself or to the Chairman of our charity organization, and we will take immediate steps to have them provided for. In this connection, I desire to state further, that if there are any Jewish families in this city who are in condition to board or clothe these children, that we, after having been put in charge of them legally, will place these children with such family, paying them a fair rate per month; thus many a deserving family can be helped and at the same time aid in educating and caring for these children and giving them homes where they can have all the comforts and happiness which hitherto they have missed by misfortune.

But, as I said at the inception of my remarks, we figure in a dual capacity. The primary and important one is that we are citizens of the United States, that whatever we do in stimulating, fostering and

bettering the condition of the Jews, is done in the line of our duty as citizens of a country that permits the Jew in common with other people, to be happy. A country that asks nothing in its legislation, of us as Jews, a country that restricts us in nothing because we are Jews, a country, whose very pulse-beat is for the enjoyment of the human mind, and whose very impulse is to give to the world outside of the United States, an object lesson for the amelioration of the oppressed and for the elevation of the unenlightened. The Jew, as a citizen, who forgets the past in the enjoyment of the present, the Jew, as a citizen who ignores the responsibility of the future by the selfish feeling of revelling in the momentary enjoyment of wealth or indifference, is a traitor not only to his religion, but an ingrate to the country of his birth or adoption, to the institutions that permit him to be happy and a renegade to the flag, whose broad folds shelter and protect him in the freedom of his conscience. There never has been a time in the history of our people when we, as citizens of the United States, are so much on trial, as at the present moment. Europe has set the blood-hounds of prejudice and persecution at the heels of everything that is Jewish. A footing on the same lines has been and is sought for in this country, and the only way to stem this onward march is to prove by our conduct as citizens, the nobility of our character, the generosity of our purpose, the liberality of our acts; in short, that we are of the highest type of citizenship and that we have no grander motive than to contribute whatever is just and honorable to the higher elevation of the best interests among the nations of the earth. There is no reason why we should not do this. Every in-

centive has been given to us to accomplish this mission, for we are not, as Dr. Hirsch of Chicago, in a recent sermon, has truly said, "we are not a marvelous archaeological specimen, we are not the great attraction in history's dime museum, we are not witnesses to the truth of somebody else's religion and therefore, must be preserved in alcohol." But we simply worship God, according to the dictates of our own conscience, without infringing upon the rights of any one; at the same time, our religion, instead of being a hindrance, is an aid and stimulus leading to a better and more patriotic citizenship. The non-Israelite may as well become aware of this fact that whatever we do as citizens, we do as Americans, and we do not thank them for any recognition or tolerance. Our lives, our happiness, the lives and happiness of those near and dear to us, the happiness and prosperity of the whole human race, are as much concern to us as to others, and whatever we do, we do from motives inspired by the consciousness of duty based on common sense and fellow feeling. It is our mission to impress the ignorant and the prejudiced, which terms are synonymous, that the day has gone by when a citizen of the United States of Jewish faith can be told with a familiarity that is as contemptible as it is ridiculous, "Why, my dear sir, some of the best friends I have, are Jews" or the other familiar term, "he is a pretty good fellow, although he is a Jew." Expressions of this kind can originate only in shallow minds or in those whom blind fortune has favored with more money than brains, and thus arrogate to themselves a dignity which they do not possess, a judgment which is as warped as the utterances are uncalled for.

I have no defense to offer on account of my faith, as Webster said of Massachusetts, so I say of the Jew. "There he stands," look at him from every stand-point, and you will find him your equal. There is no longer any sense or reason to bring out the second-hand stock of the parrot orators, as to what the Jew has done in this or that department of science. He is no better or worse for being a Jew. He claims to be your equal in every branch of human achievement. My dear Christian friends, he claims this as a man and not as a Jew.

May the God of all men so endow us as to give all that charity of judgment which is the grandest Gem in the Coronet of Deity. The Day of Atonement for the Jew has indeed come, the Christian owes it to us for centuries of prejudice, let us prove worthy of the day and its import.

Finally let us say, that to have a united country we must have a united purpose; to have loyal citizens, you must treat all loyally. If our institutions are worth preserving, they must be respected, loved, not merely tolerated. If the citizenship of the palmiest days of Rome and Greece is again to spring eternal out of the happiness of the people, then the Jew and Christian must stand upon a common platform of recognized worth, must grasp each other's hands as brothers, singing as they do, the songs of the Psalmists; reciting as they do, the inspired proverbs of the past, looking forward as they do, to the emancipation of the whole human race, and wishing as they do, to sow, not only by faith, but by act, the seed which when grown and ripened, shall fructify the whole earth and be a blessing to all the inhabitants thereof.

THE ORPHANED JEW AND THE JEWISH ORPHAN*

AT the close of the 19th century, it is proper that we should review the past, so that we can derive instruction therefrom, and gather anew hope and courage for the future. One of the wisest of Israel's sages said, "There is nothing new under the sun," and however strange this observation may sound in the light of modern inventions and discoveries, yet I should not be surprised that all these things which we now prize so highly have heretofore existed. One thing is sure, that the spirit of persecution and the animus of prejudice and fanaticism has always shown its vindictiveness, and is as dominant today in many ways, as in the darkest days of feudalism, and it requires a master mind to prevent the masses from becoming mere tools in the hands of schemers and agitators. It may interest you to know that in the early days of the present century, the conditions in France were almost identical with those of to-day, with this difference, that it was then a military government dominated and controlled by the man of all time, Napoleon. The influence of the Priest had been destroyed by the revolution, and under the new empire was beginning to show its hydra-headed fanaticism. It was at this time that Napoleon wrote the following letter to his Minister, Portalis, which it is worth while to

*Speech delivered at the Washington Temple on Day of Atonement.

read again, to get an idea not only of the wonderful genius of Napoleon, but also to know what influences were at work then against the Jew, and when we comprehend the full import of this letter, we need not after all be very much surprised at the condition of France to-day:

"It is against the divine law to prevent the Jew from working on Sundays, in order to gain his bread; the Jew has his necessities on Sunday as well as on the week days. The Government could pass such a law only if it were to give bread to those who have none; police and Government have, therefore no business to interfere.

"Even the holy fathers prescribed rest only for the people of wealth, or those who earned enough during the week to afford spending the Sunday in idleness. Therefore, in all Christian countries, the custom is to work on Sundays by special permission of the bishop or priest. Why should not the Jews be allowed to do so? Is it one of the bishop's rights, who hates the Jews, or the magistrate's rights, who has no love for the Jews, to grant or withhold such a permission?

"We had better be careful before we create a condition of affairs where we would be compelled to send policemen to the Jews, who must work for their living in order to stop their Sunday labor.

"In either case the authorities would be guilty of superstition, either political or religious. God has made labor a duty, as He does not permit the enjoyment of a product of the earth, unless labor had been bestowed upon it. The laws of the clergy must be divided in such that affect religion in its essence, and in such that are passed for the object of extending their power.

"Mr. Portalis had better, therefore, be careful, because these concessions once made, the Government undertaking to interfere in matters that are outside of its sphere, it will not be long before we will be

taken back to the unfortunate period of the issue of letters patent of absolution, or the miserable epoch when the priest imagined the right to order the burning alive of the Jew, or to maltreat the citizen, who refused to attend mass. The power of the clergy must be confined to the sermon; it is time that the sorely persecuted Jews were left in peace. As long as I live, however, police and dungeon shall never be resorted to in France to tyrannize the citizens of another faith. There are many of erring sheep in the Christian fold; let the priest lead these back to the practices of religion. An attempt to curtail still more the rights of Jews, which are curtailed enough, is priestly malice, and there is an end of that in France.
Ostend, December 25, 1807." NAPOLEON.

This spirit making itself manifest in France in 1807 has been gathering force in all parts of the world, save and except in the United States, until to-day, notwithstanding all that the Jew has done on the broad lines of citizenship in the various countries of his birth and residence, he has still to fight for his home, for his life, and for his happiness. He is still, to all intents and purposes, an orphaned Jew. His parents, in the shape of recognition, protection and equality, have been denied him, and he is a castaway on the highway of life, who has to struggle not only for the chance of making life possible, but for life itself. I admit much has been done in Germany, in Italy, in England, and in France up to 1894, which showed a betterment and an improvement for the condition of the Jews, and yet even this betterment had to be wrested from the hands of our enemies, who never accorded it as a right or privilege, but rather as a measure of policy. I confess that even I, opti-

mistic as I have ever been, battling as I have for more than half a century on and in behalf of the rights of all men, and especially my co-religionists, am near the brink when I observe the conditions at the close of the century from which so much had been expected, and from which we were to receive new inspiration for the battle of the future. I am well aware that this subject of Dreyfus and France has been spoken of time and again, until it is almost nauseating, and yet nothing in history is so dreadful and so full of dire import as the action of France and the military cabal. It is not the victim of their hellish hate, but it is the Jews throughout the world that are affected, for if such things are possible in France where the Jews have had since Napoleon's time more or less equal standing, then what can you expect from Russia, Roumania, Austria and Germany? However oft it has been stated that one Jew stands for all and all stand for one, it yet remains a fact that the sufferings of one as well as the misdeeds of one reflect upon the whole Jewish community throughout the world. And this answers the question propounded by Mark Twain in his splendid article in the September number of Harpers,* that the Jews are united, but not as he would like them to be in the spirit of threat or opposition to inaugurate a universal boycott, but rather in the spirit of right, of mercy,

*This article in Harpers (since reprinted in "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg") is due to the correspondence between us. Mark Twain had at one time a different opinion. I sent him a copy of my book "The American Jew as Soldier Patriot and Citizen." He promptly replied, admitting his ignorance, gratefully thanked me, and promised to make amends in Harpers, which he did effectively. These letters are published in my book "The Presidents I Have Known."

of justice and of humanity, whose heart goes out beating responsive to every cause, and ready to live or die in defence of those eternal principles which underlie not only every faith, but particularly that of Judaism. Mark Twain says in the article that it is not the hatred of the Jew's religion, but antipathy from a business standpoint, although he says as follows:

"These facts are all on the credit side of the proposition that the Jew is a good and orderly citizen. Summed up, they certify that he is quiet, peaceable, industrious, unaddicted to high crimes and brutal dispositions; that his family life is commendable; that he is not a burden upon public charities; that he is not a beggar; that in benevolence he is above the reach of competition. These are the very quintessentials of good citizenship. If you can add that he is as honest as the average of his neighbors—But I think that question is affirmatively answered by the fact that he is a successful business man. The basis of successful business is honesty; a business cannot thrive where the parties to it cannot trust each other. In the matter of numbers, the Jew counts for little in the overwhelming population of New York; but that his honesty counts for much is guaranteed by the fact that the immense wholesale business of Broadway, from the Battery to Union Square, is substantially in his hands."

Now if the Jew's dealings are honorable in business relations, and there is no prejudice against his religion, then what is it that has produced this agony and misery of centuries, and which is as dominant today as in the days of yore? While Mark Twain speaks of the Jew's probity, of his fairness in all things, of his charitable disposition, of his philanthropic efforts, of his humanity, his humane spirit, and all the other attributes for which the word Jew

and Judaism stand as truthful witnesses for all the ages, he closes his remarkable and well-meant article as follows:

"To conclude.—If the statistics are right, the Jews constitute but *one per cent* of the human race. It suggests a nebulous dim puff of star-dust lost in the blaze of the Milky Way. Properly the Jew ought hardly to be heard of; but he is heard of, has always been heard of. He is as prominent on the planet as any other people, and his commercial importance is extravagantly out of proportion to the smallness of his bulk. His contributions to the world's list of great names in literature, science, art, music, finance, medicine, and abstruse learning are also away out of proportion to the weakness of his numbers. He has made a marvellous fight in this world, in all the ages; and has done it with his hands tied behind him. He could be vain of himself, and be excused for it. The Egyptian, the Babylonian, and the Persian rose, filled the planet with sound and splendor, then faded to dream-stuff and passed away; the Greek and the Roman followed, and made a vast noise, and they are gone; other peoples have sprung up and held their torch high for a time, but it burned out, and they sit in twilight now, or have vanished. The Jew saw them all, beat them all, and is now what he always was, exhibiting no decadence, no affirmities of age, no weakening of his parts, no slowing of his energies, no dulling of his alert and aggressive mind. All things are mortal but the Jew; all other forces pass, but he remains. What is the secret of his immortality?"

And here, his closing words, "What makes the Jew immortal" is a text in itself. What is it? Undoubtedly the very opposite to that which he has advised. It is because the Jews have been orphaned and scattered in every part of the habitable globe; that is one of the reasons of that immortality. Second,

their non-proselytizing spirit in permitting each faith to live and prosper without making inroads, is another element of great strength in the Jew's immortality. His adhesion to hygienic and sanitary laws is one of the greatest elements of his immortality. The uprightness of his domestic relations, and the greatest virtues that have adorned the Jewish home are also a very great and important factor in his immortality, and finally, his morality is in every essential tenable, "as the survival of the fittest" which means the highest development of mentality. Then indeed it cannot be questioned why the Jew has survived all of his persecutors, and stands to-day as he did at creation's dawn, assertive, intelligent, courageous, charitable, philanthropic, and immortal. Why cannot our neighbors of Christian faith throw away their narrow and sectarian bias, ever remembering Shakespeare's immortal words, "Has not a Jew eyes," &c. In what way do we differ from all the essentials that you claim credit for? Do we not possess each and every one of those qualities that have adorned mankind, and that make for good citizenship, and in addition thereto have many that you have unfortunately ignored or do not practice? If there are Jews, and I confess there are, who do not come up to the golden rule, are there not in proportion a much larger number among your own? The Christians have not a mortgage on all the rascals, and since this is so, why not brand each and every one from the standpoint of mankind, and not from the standpoint of religion or race or country. Do not forget that as Abraham Lincoln said, "For every drop of blood by the lash, there will be an equal number drawn by the sword."

Thus if Christian governments and Christian churches permit the persecution of the Jew as they did the enslavement of the negro, what other condition can you expect than that among a certain number of the unfortunate victims of your hate and antagonism, there will be found a lower strata of humanity. When you deaden all the moral instincts of human nature, when you deprive the brain of thought, the soul of aspiration, the heart of love, and drag him down to the level of the beast, you cannot expect anything else but the tiger's spring, and it is not the tiger that should be blamed, but the cruel master. To me it has been a wonder that notwithstanding all the cruelties and barbarities practiced upon the Jews, that there is yet so much of humanity, morality, and true religious fervor left in their composition, and it argues well for the ground work of their being, and the exceeding purity of their laws and religion.

So much for the Jew at large. The Jewish orphan on this day of solemn fast and prayer claims our undivided interest and sympathy. In your own way you have in the past ten years contributed from time to time to the maintenance and support of Jewish orphans in Atlanta, Georgia, Washington being a part of the district. Only those who have been favored with an inspection of the home and its happy inmates, can have a conception of what vast good has been accomplished, and how much of anti-Semitism has been destroyed by the results achieved in this and kindred institutions. I therefore, feel sure that you will not take it amiss if I invoke your continued aid and assistance on these lines of humanity and philanthropy. Mark Twain has said most beautifully, but no less

truthfully, that we stand at the head of humanity in the matter of charity. Let us continue to lead and show to the world that notwithstanding all the prejudice and fanaticism, we are still working to the end that the rising generation may be morally, intellectually and physically strong, that we recognize the priceless boon of American citizenship, and thus recognizing it, our aim and object is not to become a burden upon the state, or upon the nation, but to contribute wherever we can to rescue from the purlieus and slums of the cities and towns the unfortunate orphan, and educate him to be in the highest sense, a true American citizen. Therefore, do not, if there are any such among you, shrug your shoulders with indifference, and clutch your dollars, caring not what becomes of the unfortunate. You know not how the wheel of fortune may turn with you. To-day you may have plenty, to-morrow's storm may leave you penniless, and the children of your love and affection may claim the sympathy and love of others. Be cheerful givers at any and all times, not only for the Jewish orphans, but for the orphans of all sects, and in this connection do not neglect to support and contribute to the United Hebrew Charities of this city, which has done such splendid and notable work. Support, aid and strengthen the hands of its noble chairman, and energetic board of officers. You cannot do work that is more deserving or that helps humanity to a greater extent. I know you gave last year, I know you gave the year before, but that is not this year, nor next. You ate your dinner yesterday, and you expect to eat it to-morrow, and the unfortunate are exactly in the same condition. Their wants may have

been supplied once, but that does not argue that they are not equally hungry to-day, and the standpoint assumed by our charities is a most excellent one. It does not foster pauperism or beggary, on the contrary, it tries to stimulate love of and for work, and supports those who are willing to be self-sustaining. Since the Jew has been called immortal for many reasons, let us live up to this high standard, not only as citizens of our common country, not only as cosmopolitans of the whole civilized earth, but also as progressive, cultured, moral and courageous Jews, whose highest ambition it is to respect themselves, and to contribute to the betterment of mankind.

ARE WE NOT ALL BRETHREN?*

WHEN on the 24th and 25th day of May, 1865, there marched up Pennsylvania Avenue to be reviewed by the President of the United States, the Grand Army of the Republic, I witnessed a pageant, unparalleled in the annals of time. They were not Christians or Jews that marched in serried ranks to lay down the arms which they had so gloriously borne in bloody fields of battle. They were American citizens, who by their indomitable valor and courage, had shown what American institutions had produced.

So, in that spirit, I am here to-night, to greet you one and all, and to extend to you that cordial hand of fellowship for which our fraternity is celebrated throughout the world. I greet you, not as Christians, not as Jews, but as brethren; brethren, who cement, unify, harmonize and reconcile all the differences incident to our nature, and thus vindicate all that is divine, all that is great and glorious, not only here on earth, but in all the longings for eternity. No pages in history are darker in their tragedy, no crimes in their rapacities, than those that have been created by differences in religious belief. How much more then should we rejoice that this fraternity, one of the greatest religious organizations on the face of the earth, does not divide; it unifies. It has not left

*Address delivered in New York at the "Maundy Thursday" Banquet of the Scottish Rite, April 13, 1911:

countless millions dead on the fields of battle. It has not laid the beautiful savannahs of the South and the granaries of the North Waste. No, it has beautified, it has glorified all that is best in man. Thus this great organization is worthy of the homage of the best of men, for no other organization, ancient or modern, pays such high and glorious tribute to the fundamental principles of the domestic virtues incident to our lives as the Masonic fraternity.

In addition, it is thoroughly democratic. At no time in my career was I more impressed with this than when, as our country's representative, I was sent as Minister to Egypt. On my way, in London, I was taken to the Blue Lodge Room, where in the East sat His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, after wards King Edward the VII; and thus the emigrant Jew boy of Bavaria, the representative of this great republic, sat side by side with the Crown Prince of England, showing the democracy of our Order. Again, when I landed in Cairo, the then Rebel Chief, Arabi Pasha, welcomed me with all the honors to the East in the Blue Lodge Room, showing the universality of our Order; and at the same time I felt rejoiced that I could be back in the land of my ancestors, not as a slave, but as a free man. It is true that the good missionaries of different Christian faiths in Egypt had feared the advent of the American citizen of Jewish faith, and that their institutions would be jeopardized. They forgot that I did not go to Egypt as a Jew, but as an American citizen, the proudest title any man can wear on this earth. I had the great satisfaction, a year after, to read a letter the good missionaries wrote to their friends at home, when in convention assembled

in Philadelphia—good Presbyterians, Brother Senator Depew—who wrote "Our Consul General of Jewish faith has done more for our missions in one year, than all the Christian Consuls General in all their lives." It was very gratifying. It was no more than my Masonic duty that I performed, to be truthful, to be honorable, to be in every sense a man. Are we not taught in all the lodges, whether in the lower or in the higher degrees, that we must recognize all men as our equals, not because they are Christians or Jews, but because they are men of character, men of worth? I ask here to-night that in your admission to any of the bodies of the craft, look to the man, whether he be Jew or Christian, whether he be senator or laborer, as long as he is a man of merit, of standing, of sobriety, and a man who vindicates in his personality all those attributes with which God has endowed us. The ancient character of our craft I saw exemplified at Heliopolis, near Cairo, where the Sun Temple stood, where Herodotus and Plato were taught, and there yet stands the obelisk full of masonic hieroglyphics, proving to each and every one the ancient character of our great Order. The humanizing character of our Order had also been illustrated to me when in 1862 the second battle of Bull Run had been fought, and General Pope had telegraphed to Washington for aid and assistance to take care of the prisoners and wounded. In common with many other civilians, I went to the battlefield, carrying provisions, and instead of the General having prisoners, we ourselves were made prisoners, as the Confederate Army had possession of the entire field. I was brought before the general commanding, and when he became aware through the mystic sign that

I was a brother of the craft, instead of sending me to Libby Prison, I was permitted to return to Washington. Thus this great organization softens even the cruelties of war, and like the words of the Hebrew, "Hear, Oh Israel, the Lord our God is one," so the hailing sign of the craft is recognized the world over and becomes a source of help and cheer. It is not the Mystic Sign and Word within the lodge room that solely counts. It is the work outside of the lodge room that tells. The upholding of all that is best in citizenship, the protection of womanhood, the integrity of character which stands sponsor for masonry—those are things outside of the lodge room that make propaganda, and that appeal to the mind of the most ignorant, as well as to that of the most cultivated. Masonry, in my judgment, is not only a great religious organization teaching the morals and ethics of the Golden Rule, "Love thy neighbor as thyself"; but it is the conservator of true republican ideas, the love of freedom, the love of justice, of righteousness, and that is one of the reasons, my brethren, that the oppressors of the world are afraid of the masonic fraternity. In no part of the world does our great brotherhood so flourish as in this great God-given republic of ours; and as long as we are true to all the tenets of the institutions under which we are so supremely happy, so long will we be discharging our responsibilities to the masonic order.

Brethren, do not for a moment believe that the Christian alone has made this Republic. Oh no, thank God, I can say here to-night that when in 1894 I published a book entitled "The American Jew as Soldier, Patriot and Citizen," I furnished from the archives of our

Government the fact that there had been more Jews enlisted on the Union side, and on the Southern side, than of any other denomination in the United States, when you compare their number. Thus we ask no favors, I expect none. I expect, however, every Christian to be treated by every Jew with that degree of cordiality, of friendship and of fraternal good-will which are the heirlooms of every human being; and I expect the same on the other hand for the Jew, for are we not all brethren? Has not the same God created us? Endowed us with all the faculties necessary to strengthen the ties of our common bonds, and the ties of human endeavor and human achievements?

This is a solemn hour. While the Scottish rite of the 18° enjoy this feast, which is celebrated to-night by the Jews throughout the world, I feel perfectly at home with the unleavened bread, in the wine cup, in all that pertains to the Mystic Banquet of the Great Rite. At every Passover festival in the home of the humblest Jew, you may find the door wide open, the cup of wine standing ready for the stranger, thus establishing that cordon of hospitality which has circled the world in its magic influence and brought man closer and closer together.

Unfortunate it is that this very peace, so endearing and emblematic and symbolical of the freedom which the Jew transmitted from generation to generation after his Egyptian bondage, has been made a tragedy in many lands of the earth. Even when I was in Egypt, I was appealed to and had to go to the Greek Patriarch to prevent a riot, for it had been charged by ignorance and prejudice, which are synonymous, that the Jews had killed a Christian child for the blood of

the Passover. Think of it, that in the name of the Prince of Peace, the offspring from the loins of the Jews should be made the text for massacre, the text for expulsion and persecutions, as it is to-day in darkest Russia. Then I ask you, have we not a great task yet to fulfill? Have we not yet a great mission in life, for this great band, this great organization, universal in all its character, who work and watch to the end that prejudice shall vanish from the earth that Right and Truth shall illumine the darkest corners thereof, that the prisoner in his dungeon cell, and on the icy steppes of Siberia, shall win new inspiration and new courage for the battles of life?

To-morrow night, my friends, is the anniversary of the assassination of the greatest American that ever lived. He, too, was a brother. A brother in truth whom I knew well, whom I loved, and whom I honored, and who was the forerunner of all that is yet to come, a man so faithful to his trust, so modest, yet so true, vindicating in every act of his the teachings of the lodge room; and let us hope and trust that future generations will be animated by that fearless courage, love of truth and right, that animated him who has joined the immortals, and than whom no greater soul ever vindicated the true tenets of masonry, Abraham Lincoln.

Brethren, I thank you for this golden opportunity to be with you, especially you, Brother Wise Master, who has asked me to be here to-night. I have heard from time to time that brethren of my faith were not welcome in the Scottish Rite of the Northern Jurisdiction. I am happy to say that among those names read off to-night, who have joined the immortal throng, there

were several of my kindred whom I loved and esteemed. I trust that your ranks will be increased by good men and true, irrespective of nationality, irrespective of faith; and that we will all meet on common ground, on that bridge of life which spans all humanity, that knows no creed, that knows no country, save that country which confers the greatest blessing upon the largest number.

Yes, we have a great fraternity. We have a glorious, glorious body of men, from the earliest days of George Washington up to the present, the executives of the nation, senators and members, as we have to-night in our midst one of the most shining exemplars of civic virtue, of statesmanship and of true masonry,* and so the laborer, the employed and the employer, the men of daring and the men of genius, all come together on common ground, each trying his best to make the world purer and better, and thus prove that we are indeed a band of brethren, Americans not only in spirit, but in deed. There is no fraternity in the world like ours, for we teach equality between man, without which the world would be a barren ideality, for we can say with our brother Robert Burns, "The rank is but the guinea's stamp, a man's a man for a' that."

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* Senator Depew, who was one of the speakers, was enthusiastic in praising my speech.

THE B'NAI B'RITH AND THE PHILADELPHIA STATUE OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY(1921)

THE re-interment at the National Cemetery at Arlington, Virginia, of the eminent sculptor, Sir Moses Ezekiel,* brings to memory the great convention of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith in 1874 in the city of Chicago, at which I had the honor and privilege of presiding. It was an epochal convention in every sense. At one time the conditions were of a very grave character. The Order was threatened with disruption. The members of the Sixth District were on their feet, about to leave the convention. It was through my humble efforts that peace was restored, and time and again eminent members of that convention have stated in person and in writing, that I saved the Order on that day. It was during the proceedings that I suggested that a statue to Religious Liberty should be given by the Order to the United States, and that Sir Moses Ezekiel, practically an unknown artist, residing in Rome, Italy, should be the sculptor. The matter was referred to the Committee on Resolutions, of which Adolph L. Sanger of New York was chairman, and their report was in the affirmative of my proposal. The award was made, and in due time the statue was dedicated in the City of Phila-

* See biography of him by the Rev. Dr. David Philipson in "Publications of American Jewish Historical Society," No. 28, pp. 1-62.—Editors.

delphia and placed in Fairmount Park, and unveiled on the 4th of July, 1876. The oration was delivered by Brother Sanger, inasmuch as I was prevented from doing so. I invited President Grant to be at the unveiling, but public business prevented him from accepting. The correspondence that passed between us is as follows:

"Washington, D. C., June 26, 1876.

My Dear Mr. President:

"No doubt you are aware of the fact that the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith at its quinquennial convention held in Chicago in 1874, unanimously voted the erection of a Statue to Religious Liberty, and that the same should be erected in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. Now on this coming Fourth of July, the Statue having been completed by an American sculptor, Sir Moses Ezekiel, will be dedicated and given to the people of the United States. This evidence of patriotism and of love of liberty on the part of American citizens of Jewish faith is in keeping with their history and their lofty ideals and conception of duty. No class of citizenship has been made happier by religious liberty than the Jew, for the denial of that liberty in other lands has been the cause of endless persecution and misery.

We sincerely trust that this statue, typifying so grandly the separation of church and state, may be an inspiration and an example for all the generations of the future.

Is it not possible for you to attend the unveiling?

Very sincerely, SIMON WOLF."

And the President replied:

"White House, June 28, 1876.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

Your letter in the matter of the Statue to be dedicated to Religious Liberty in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, on the 4th of July, has been duly received.

It has impressed me deeply, and I congratulate you and all concerned for this splendid contribution on the part of American citizens who at all times, in war and in peace, have shown their loyalty and patriotism on and in behalf of the Republic.

I sincerely regret that official duties will prevent my attendance.

Sincerely yours, U. S. GRANT."

A curious incident in connection with this statue is that most of the lodges responded to the call of paying

a per capita for each member of the Order, but a few of the lodges, having a large orthodox membership, for ritualistic reasons objected, and I finally had to make two trips in various parts of the country to secure the assessment.

In 1906, on my seventieth birthday, I received the following letter from Sir Moses Ezekiel, which has never before been published and is of intense interest, as it voices the sculptor's gratitude and gives a lofty conception of what inspired him in creating this monument:

Rome 8, October, 1906.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.
My dear and honoured Sir:

I have heard with very great pleasure that you are about to reach the allotted three score and ten years, and that it has pleased the Almighty to bless you with the vigour of body and soul, that will enable your many friends (without putting a limit to the will of God) to offer you the old Roman augury of "Cento di Questi Giorni."

I, who have been the humble instrument of carrying out in enduring stone the fundamental idea of that which alone can give peace on earth and good will towards all men, owe the initial steps to you and to you alone, and to your lofty clear mind and your most noble desire to reflect honor upon our race: the placing of an enduring record of the one principle of our government which alone prevents the recurrence of oppression, of religious fanaticism and intolerance, and makes our country the most civilized one on the face of the earth.

I come to you, therefore, today with feelings of deep reverence and gratitude, to offer to you my heartfelt congratulations on your birthday and to wish you and those dear to you the greatest joy and the fruition of your dearest wishes, and to beg of you to remember me on the 28th, as yours very truly and sincerely,

M. EZEKIEL.

Not only the Order, but all of Jewry, is to be congratulated that we are the only organization in the United States that has given a monument typifying Religious Liberty; and that it should stand in the city

of Philadelphia, where the independence of the Republic was first declared is no less significant and inspiring.

It is also gratifying to note that Ezekiel was not only an American, but a Jew and a member of the Order, and is now recognized all the world over as one of the great sculptors of all time. His wonderful work at the Arlington Cemetery has been the object of great admiration, and when his remains were finally entombed, the services were most inspiring, and Dr. Philipson gave light, color and eloquence in his tribute to the sculptor.

Three eminent Americans of Jewish faith sleep near each other at Arlington Cemetery—Admiral Adolph Marix, General C. H. Lauchheimer, Sir Moses Ezekiel.*

That same convention endorsed the mission of Brother Peixotto to Roumania, and authorized me to secure, by act of Congress, the creation of a consulate at Bucharest, as Peixotto's appointment, as President Grant himself said, was in the nature of a missionary rather than an official of the Government.

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*Jewish activity in our war with Spain is well analyzed in an article entitled, "Preliminary List of Jewish Soldiers and Sailors Who Served in the Spanish-American War" in the American Jewish Year Book for 5661 (pp. 525-622).

Statistics, thus far incomplete, have been compiled, showing that in the World War, the American Jews participated far beyond their numerical population basis, among those who served their country on the battle-field, and particularly among volunteers, not requisitioned by the draft, and as the above enumeration shows, some of them achieved high rank, both in the army and navy. See Rev. L. J. Levinger's "A Jewish Chaplain in France," Rosenfelt's "This Thing of Giving," and articles on "The Collection of Jewish War Statistics," "The American Jewish Welfare Board," and "American Jews in the World War" in the American Jewish Year Book for 5679 (pp. 141-155, 88-102), and 5680 (pp. 141-155), respectively.—Editors.

JUDAISM—PATRIOTISM—FRATERNALISM*

ON a summer day in 1845, in the little town where I was born in the Rhenish provinces, the postman brought a letter which was written in the United States by an uncle of mine, whose son is the president of Dr. Berkowitz's Temple at Philadelphia. Among other things which the letter contained, there was a picture of George Washington, and a translation of the Declaration of Independence in German. The feeling that overcame me in looking at the one, and reading the other, is as vivid and distinct today as it was then, more than seventy years ago, and day and night from that time until I had the pleasure and good fortune of accompanying my sainted grandparents to this country, the thought was "what a wonderful man George Washington must have been, and what a fairyland it must be, where all men are born free and equal." And thus, when on the 19th day of July, 1848, I landed in New York, an immigrant boy, I was to all intents and purposes an American, and during these seventy years, I have never departed from that lofty conception of duty to American citizenship that had been formed in the land of my birth.

America was the inspiration and dominant thought of my whole life. To aid and contribute to the advancement and betterment of this blessed Republic

*Response at the banquet given in Baltimore on January 16, 1917, at the Convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, to the toast "America".

was the only solvent in the chemical process of mental, moral and physical life. The younger generation who have been blessed by being born to the condition of equality can never realize what it means to be restricted and restrained from enjoying the liberty that is born of equal rights. We elders are constantly thankful for having been permitted to leave a land of persecution and discrimination, to mingle with our fellowmen on a basis of justice and religious freedom, and to this glorious reality and altruistic uplift, no one has contributed more in this great Republic, than the citizens of Jewish faith, whether individually or collectively, and to emphasize this achievement, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, with all its consultant machinery, has been one of the important factors. And this brings to my recollection a memorable interview I had with the sainted Dr. Isaac M. Wise, when he recounted the history of how the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was formed. He said the first draft was "Union of Hebrew Congregations." When it was shown to him he promptly rejected it and said the word "American" must be inserted. Thus at once, with his loyal devotion and farsighted intelligence he stamped the seal of Jewish patriotism and American liberality on the great organization which is now holding its Convention. It is only in the United States of America, where man has the fullest opportunity to better his condition and to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and to aspire to the highest ranks in official life—in short, to be equal to the best and inferior to none—and do you really realize what all this means? Are we sufficiently grateful to a kind Providence and

to the founders of this great Republic for all that we enjoy, and for the glorious opportunity of being in a condition to aid our struggling and suffering co-religionists in other lands, and especially in this crucial hour of the world's history? The ambition of dynasties, the competitive strife for commercial supremacy, has hurled so-called Christian nations into a struggle for life and death, and in this great cataclysm, the Jew is not only hurled as a citizen of the respective countries at war, but independent thereof, he suffers all the cruelties and wrongs that have been heaped upon him in the past centuries by certain countries in Europe.

Then let our aim and supreme thought be to prove still further, if such a thing is possible, our love of and for the country of which we form so prominent and important a link, a country that is destined by virtue of its mission and its wonderful achievements to be the arbiter of the world of peace, for righteousness and justice. Differences in creed may bring about an estrangement for the moment, but under the benign influence that constitutes the severance of church and state, this country is destined to be at all times the refuge of the oppressed, the home of the free, and the promised land of the prophets, and let the slogan of every American citizen, irrespective of nationality or creed, ever be "Long live the Republic," and convened as we are in the City of Baltimore, we cannot help but think of that memorable historical occasion in American history when Fort McHenry was fired on and which inspired the great song-writer of that time to compose the immortal anthem which, by its influence has unified every section of our great country, and therefore I ask you all to join in singing "The Star Spangled Banner."

ADDRESS

AT CONVENTION OF UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS IN BOSTON, 1919

ON Wednesday evening, the 21st day of May, 1919, a banquet was given by some of the citizens of Boston at the Copley Plaza Hotel in honor of the delegates to the Biennial Convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Temple Sisterhoods. The Honorable Simon Wolf, of Washington, was first called on, being introduced by the toastmaster as the "grand old man of American Israel." No set toast was assigned to Mr. Wolf. When he arose and when he closed, seven hundred men and women arose to their feet and cheered for several minutes.

Mr. Wolf said:

"Napoleon was his own ancestor, and I am supposed to be my own subject. I am permitted to ramble in the garden of fancy and reminiscence.

Fifty years ago this merry month of May, I had the privilege of speaking in Boston. It was the jubilee celebration of the Pacific Railway completion. President Grant was guest of honor. Parepa Rosa sang, Pat Gilmore's celebrated band played, and used actual anvils in the famous 'Il Trovatore' chorus. A wonderful change has been wrought in the population of citizens of Jewish faith in New England. Immigration of a wholesome character has given new life and

color. The cosmopolitan character of Boston vies with New York. The generous spirit, the cultured intellectual poise that made Boston the Athens of the Republic, has made a deep and lasting impress on its Jewish citizens. The hospitality and generous attention accorded to this Convention is a living proof how time has developed you into a great factor of civilizing influences, and the first meeting of the Council at Boston will ever be recognized as a type of that perfection for which we all strive.

There is much talk in many directions about Americanizing aliens. Why not the natives? When Civil War menaced the Union, natives threatened to destroy, and it was the alien who helped to save. And the Civil War victory virtually made the World War victory a possibility, for had the South triumphed, we would have been a Mexicanized country, and there would have been no United States to aid in the great world struggle for democracy. Scan the casualty lists caused by the World War and you will find more than half foreign names, and all of them patriotic Americans. The immigration laws restrict illiterates, and yet it is their brawn and brain that have enriched the Republic. Debar the mouthing, ranting anarchists, those who can speak seven languages and are patriotic in none. In 1891 a nondescript wrote in the North American Review a vile letter, accusing the Jew of cowardice and utter lack of patriotism. I answered that slander after four years of work by publishing "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen," and silenced that libel.

In this great war, statistics will evidence again that in common with our fellow citizens, we have been

Americans, loyal to the flag and ready at home and abroad to do our bounden duty, not as Jews, but as citizens of the Great Republic. Thousands of our boys "sleep 'neath the poppies in Flanders' field" and have given a new page to American history. Which reminds me that General Johnson, of the Lost Battalion, said "No braver soldiers ever fought and died in a greater cause than did the Jewish men of the East Side of New York. Hereafter I will take off my hat to any Jew I meet." Praise highly deserved, when one reads the record not only of the "Lost Battalion" but of the "77th Division" in the Argonne struggle and on every battlefield of France.

Have no fear as to the future. The Russian terror, outcome of centuries of outrages and persecution, will never find a home here. A Republic of freemen—equal—knows how to safeguard the priceless legacy of freedom, bequeathed by Washington, preserved by Lincoln, and to be maintained by Wilson.

This Convention, one of many, will give new spur and impulse to the unity of Jewry. Let us not fritter away the golden opportunity. Equal rights for all peoples the whole world over must be our slogan. Jews in the Home and Synagogue, citizens of the world in every other direction, and we are fortunate to have as our equals the Temple Sisterhoods. Their advent into our civic and religious and political life marks an epoch. They are no longer to be ranked as tolerated—no longer in the ghetto and gallery. Here in free America woman is honored and respected, and we hail her as a reformer, a messenger to cheer and advance the lines of progress. The stately and dramatic ceremonies in England's famous Westminster

Abbey, immortalizing Edith Cavell, were not of a momentary character, but will prove a lasting inspiration for duty, devotion and self-sacrifice that will live to the end of time, and what Mecca is to the faithful, and Mount Vernon to the loyal, the tomb at Norwich will be a shrine, on which will be offered for all time to come the flowers of not only rhetoric, but of the spring that will give beauty and grace to the martyr who sleeps beneath, the "English Joan of Arc."

IMPROMPTU TALK

AT THE BANQUET OF THE JUBILEE CONVENTION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS, JANUARY, 1923, NEW YORK

EVERY day, and in every way, I am growing older, but not old. Seventy-five years ago I landed in New York, a poor Jewish immigrant I am still poor, still a Jew, but a full-fledged American, who has enjoyed the confidence and friendship of fourteen Presidents of the United States.

I rejoice to be with you. I was present at the launching of the ship "Union," tossed on the tempestuous ocean of criticism and misunderstanding, but the good ship, guided by the master hand of the great constructive leader, has weathered all the storms and stress of fifty years, and to-night has entered the haven of Harmony, Good Will and Better Understanding. She is manned by American Rabbis, and the flag of the God-given Republic floats on the topmost mast.

Dr. Wise, in November, 1898, wrote to me: "Napoleon was right, you cannot win without money." What he lacked then we lack now; let us make a united effort to make the Union and the College independent and worthy of Judaism and Americanism.

Mark Twain wrote in my 70th Year Book: "Nothing is so absurd as an old optimist, except a young pessimist." Nevertheless I am as ever an optimist; and say with John Hay, "Forward is the slogan." I reject the crooning of the raven's "Nevermore."

Evermore is the sesame, by which the door of doubt and danger is opened.

In every part of our country we are represented by citizens of our faith, who enjoy the esteem and respect of their neighbors. A few concrete examples are not out of place. North Carolina was the last of the States to grant the Jews equal rights, and yet when the great Drive was on for funds to help our stricken brethren, she went under the leadership of Lionel Weil, $50,000 over its quota, and half of it was contributed by Christians. The Jew made good, and his Christian friends responded nobly. In Washington the Rabbi, Dr. Simon, is the President of the Board of Education. The President of our Chamber of Commerce is a Jew. In Madison, Wis., Solomon Levitan, the peddler, is president of the largest bank, and was recently elected State Treasurer, proving conclusively that, where one Henry Ford, the spawn of distorted citizenship, exists, there are millions of Abraham Lincolns and Theodore Roosevelts. The love of justice, the common sense, of the American people can ever be trusted. Added to our present opportunities is the great Women's Organization. They no longer look down on their fathers, husbands or sons, and they are part of the congregation, co-operating and co-ordinating for all that is best in the synagogue and the outer achievements; a glorious era, which is bound to grow from strength to strength.

I hear constant alarm about the alien. What about the natives, who compose the Ku Klux Klan, the Lynchers, who were the Tories in '76, the Copperheads in '61, the Pacifists in 1914-1918? All natives; apparently it was the aliens who stood at Valley

Forge with Washington, with Grant at Gettysburg, with Pershing at the Argonne Woods. The alien knows what liberty regulated by law and order means; do not fear the outcome, they bear no allegiance to foreign territory or potentate; my Palestine is the United States, and Washington is my Jerusalem.

But I do not care to trespass on your hospitality, although like the highland chief, I am always at the head of the table.

I bid you all God-speed, and a happy future.

ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
BOARD OF DELEGATES ON CIVIL RIGHTS
OCT. 31, 1922

To the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations:

THE fiscal year just passed has been as so many years heretofore, replete with many activities, and while many deserving matters were not realized, in the main our efforts have been fruitful of good results.

Hardships of the Present Immigration Law

Before considering typical individual cases of hardship and suffering, in which the Board sought to secure relief for deserving persons, it is desirable to point out that the harsh, ill-advised and arbitrary so-called 3% Quota Law, with its discriminations on the basis of nationality, was extended by Congress on May 11, 1922, for a further period of two years, terminating June 30, 1924. Though Jews as such are not aimed at in this law, immigration from the countries from which they come chiefly was limited to comparatively small annual quotas (and to 1/5 of a year's quota in any month), namely, from Austria, 7,444 per year; from Czeko-Slovakia, 14,269; from France, 5,692; from Germany, 68,039; from Hungary, 5,635; from Italy, 42,021; from Poland (including Eastern Galicia), 25,800; from Roumania, 7,414; from Russia, 34,247; from United Kingdom, 77,206; from Armenia, 1,588, and from Pal-

estine, 56. The total from all countries is 355,825, about one-third or one-fourth of the pre-war figure. The total number of immigrant alien Jews admitted to the United States during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922 (the first full year under the 3% Quota Law), was 53,524, which is an approximate maximum of the number of Jews admissible under this Act.

Suffering Caused by Method of Administering the Law

The administrative provisions of this Act—particularly its fixation of a maximum monthly quota, with no method indicated by which the immigrant can satisfactorily learn before arrival whether the monthly quota will be reached before his personal application over here will be considered or not,—led to indescribable suffering. As a "holiday gift" the Secretary of Labor, just before Christmas, 1921, felt constrained to yield to the dictates of humanity to mitigate these cruelties, and he admitted, nominally temporarily under bond, substantially all the immigrants, about 1,000 in number, who happened to be at our ports at the time, awaiting deportation for excess of quotas. One result was that the cases which were referred to in our last report, brought by Mr. Kohler to test the Act, became moot, as his clients naturally preferred thus to enter, rather than take their chances in the courts, with the heavy court disbursements likely to accrue against their relatives or friends. Even apart from other considerations, this body, in conjunction with the American Jewish Committee and the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, submitted vigorous "Recommendations" as far back as November 7, 1910, to the national Immigration Commission, objecting to the very danger-

ous precedents set by that body in judging and weighing immigrants in racial categories. (See Vol. 41 of the Reports of that Commission, pages 157, 176, 181.) Our fears that arbitrary, unAmerican and ill-advised racial animosities would result in all sorts of other directions, too, has, unfortunately, been realized since. We are reminded, in this connection, that Senator Maclay, of Pennsylvania, said in the U. S. Senate as far back as 1790, in discussing our first naturalization bill, which New Englanders then also sought to treat along racial lines: "We Pennsylvanians act as if we believed God made of one blood all the families of the earth; but the Eastern people seem to think that He made none but New England folks."

The "Equal Citizenship Act"

Efforts avowedly to reduce these quotas still more, from a 3% to a 2% basis, in the so-called Dillingham Act, were made by restrictionists this year, but have not thus far succeeded. Meantime, however, Congress has still further reduced the number of admissible immigrants enormously, particularly Jewish immigrants, by its enactment of the so-called "Equal Citizenship Act," which abolished the universally recognized and established principle that a wife acquires her husband's citizenship, and now requires her, if not a U. S. citizen before its enactment on September 22, 1922, to become naturalized individually here, after a residence of the prescribed time, etc. On its face, this bill was not aimed at immigration, but in connection with the 3% Quota Law it will work untold hardship, keeping hundreds of thousands of wives of residents of this country and their children abroad for many years, apart from their husbands, except insofar

as they can gradually, in small numbers, come over here within the monthly and annual quotas of the Immigration Laws, and after struggling with all the difficulties attending the procurement of viseed passports abroad (particularly difficult now for the Jews in Poland), and often unprocurable, as it leaves many women "without a country" in international law. As is well known, an enormous number of males come to this country in advance of their wives and children, to provide homes here for them out of the earnings so hard to make in the case of the "new immigrant" fleeing from oppression. When the husband became naturalized, his wife became a U. S. citizen through his naturalization, and had a constitutional right to join him here, and was not an alien, whose admission was limited by the 3% quota and other provisions of the Immigration Law. The new Naturalization Law cuts off the right to U. S. citizenship of the wife of a United States resident thereafter becoming naturalized, however, and treats her as an alien, so that, despite her marriage to one hereafter becoming a United States citizen, she can hereafter come over only within the small immigration law quota limits. It will be years before all these wives can legally join their husbands, in the case of citizens of many countries, despite the fact that the statute gives a preference within the quota limits to wives of citizens. On the other hand, as such arriving wives and their children will be charged against the quotas, there will be scarcely any chance for other aliens of said countries to come over, in view of the quota limits. This law was enacted largely at the instance of American women's organizations, who desired to enable American women to

retain their citizenship, despite marriage to aliens, and to treat women as separate entities in the matter of naturalization; the feature here pointed out, however, was overlooked and ignored by them, and the law made retroactive, so as even to apply to foreign women already married to American residents thereafter becoming naturalized here. The hardships of this law are becoming more pronounced day by day. The Board discovered them beforehand, and submitted a strong memorandum to the President, urging the bill's veto for this reason, prepared by Mr. Kohler, to which your Chairman also appended his signature, but in spite of this statement and representations on the part of your Chairman by letter and telegrams from Atlantic City to the White House, the President felt constrained to sign the bill nevertheless. The statement referred to is annexed hereto, marked Appendix I.

When the House of Representatives passed the Immigration Quota Bill above referred to, two members of the Jewish faith voted for it. A great deal of criticism ensued. The Board was asked to attack them, but declined, and for the following reasons: Men or women are elected as American citizens, and not because they belong to any nationality or creed. Such a thing as a Jewish Congressman is repugnant to all our traditions. Only in faith are they Jews. It would be a great misfortune for the Jews, and the country no less, were it otherwise. When the Immigration Bill was on its passage, the voting was done by members of Congress, representing all the people. Of course, if the legislation had been specifically aimed at the Jews, we would have had the right to expect these men to vote against the measure, not only because they

were Jews, but as patriotic citizens, who should uphold and practice fair play. We repeat that the legislation was of a general character, and it strengthens our citizenship and elevates our people to vote as Americans. It is unfortunate that the door is to be temporarily closed, but abuse without reason is not going to remedy the wrong.

Objection Raised to Classification "Jews"

The Immigration Bureau, in its annual report, in making up the list of aliens admitted, classified our people as "Hebrews." The Board considered this classification as a discrimination, unless every other group of aliens coming to this country is classified in the same way, as, for instance, so many Catholics, so many Methodists, so many Lutherans, etc. Your Chairman took the matter up with Commissioner General of Immigration, W. W. Husband, as shown by the following correspondence:

"Washington, D. C., January 5, 1922.

Hon. W. W. Husband,
Commissioner General of Immigration,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Husband: I have no desire to rush into print unnecessarily, although I have been urged to do so, preferring to have a pleasant friendly correspondence with you which may, if we mutually agree to it, be given to the press later.

You are classifying immigrants of Jewish faith as Jews, which in my judgment is altogether improper, unless you classify every other group of aliens coming to this country in the same way—so many Catholics, so many Presbyterians, etc. The Jews come as citizens, or ought to come as citizens, of the respective countries in which they have been born or emigrate from. Any other classification would be discrimina-

tion. In my book "The Presidents I Have Known" you will find this question was up during the administration of President Roosevelt, and the correspondence had then showed, backed and substantiated by the leading scholars of Jewish faith, that the Jew is not a race or a nationality, but a religion. Of course the political Zionist group of the Jewish people will claim otherwise, as they seem determined to recognize Palestine as their home-land.

But again I repeat, that if all creeds are classified, there can be no objection; otherwise it is discrimination.

With sincere best wishes for the New Year, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF."

"Washington, D. C., January 10, 1922.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Wolf: I will not attempt tonight to answer your very interesting letter of January 5th, relative to the classification of Jews as a race or people. I am very familiar with past discussions over this subject, and have read that part of your book which refers to it. You will doubtless remember that the matter was considered by the Immigration Commission at a hearing which Judge Mack and you attended. Probably others were present also; that I do not remember.

I remember writing a long letter to Mr. William R. Wheeler, then Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and a member of the Immigration Commission, on the subject, and have tried to find a copy to send to you, but have not succeeded. I have always, I think, appreciated your point of view, but have also felt that the statistics on this subject, which date from 1899, were really valuable additions to the sum of human knowledge. As your letter states, the Jewish people themselves are divided on the question, and I have listened to strong arguments from them on both sides of the question.

I shall try to find a copy of the letter to Mr. Wheeler and send it to you. In the meantime, let me thank you for your good wishes for the New Year, and assure you that they are returned many fold.

Very truly yours,

W. W. Husband,
Commissioner General."

In connection with the above citation of the hearings before the Immigration Commission, special reference is made to Volume 41 (pp. 265-293) of the Immigration Commission Report, "Statements and Recommendations Submitted by Societies and Organizations Interested in the Subject of Immigration." This included the oral argument made by your Chairman and Judge Julian W. Mack, supported by the supplemental memorandum on such classification prepared by Mr. Max J. Kohler, and the Skuratowski brief on said point prepared by Judge Abram I. Elkus and Mr. Kohler (pp. 176-181).

Character of Cases Handled

The Board is happy to state that insistent efforts have resulted in securing temporary stays of deportation for a large number of our co-religionists, not only those who came under the exhausted quota class, but also those who were for the time being either physically or financially not up to the standard as required by the Immigration Law—and also many who were excluded under the Literacy Test. These stays ranged from a month to one year, at the end of which time the cases were reviewed, and all conditions being found equal, that is, if the alien had proven to the satisfaction of the immigration authorities that he or she had benefited by being even for so short a time in the "Land of Opportunity," and would undoubtedly, if

allowed to remain, become good, law-abiding citizens, was admitted permanently. Many admissions to hospitals for temporary treatment were also secured. Of course, as is usual in all of these temporary stays, bonds were given.

The many letters of thanks, telegrams and personal calls, give evidence of the great appreciation of relatives and friends, and inspired us to renewed efforts. From Los Angeles the Board received the following letter of thanks in a most worthy case:

"Please pardon my tardiness in acknowledging your wire of the 4th inst. with reference to the above alien.

I left town after receipt of the wire in question and the matter was temporarily overlooked. I wish to assure you, however, that you earned the thanks and gratitude of the alien in question, and also his father-in-law, Mr. ——, of this city, and many other people who were interested in the matter.

Needless to say I appreciate very much your ready response to my request, and feel deeply grateful and indebted to you."

This is merely given to show the character of the hundreds of letters received.

No one can imagine the feeling of having prevented the deportation of men, women and children who, driven from the land of their birth, come here to enrich our country by their brain and brawn. The calamity of having to return, after seeing the Statue of Liberty, is a feeling of such intense misery that to be admitted is a joy forever; and if the Board had not accomplished any other work, it would feel content.

Requests for Information

Numerous requests for aid and information came from the Jewish Women's Council, particularly from

New York City, and in the main we are glad to say our efforts were successful, and have received their acknowledgment in kind and appreciative terms. In one instance, where we secured an extension of time within which an alien girl was to be deported, in order to allow her more time to prepare to pass the Literacy Test, we received these few appreciative lines:

"We are very grateful to you for your letter of April 28th, in which you advise us that an extension has been granted this girl.

With deep appreciation of your many courtesies to us, I am, etc."

Later, from this same Society, we received the following request:

"May we again take the privilege of calling upon you, this time with a question concerning the establishment of residence in the United States by aliens? We raise the question regarding aliens who have lived in the United States, and who return to Europe for a temporary stay—in some instances in countries where the quota for the fiscal year has been exhausted. We wish to know how long a period of residence in the United States before their departure, guarantees their admission regardless of quota.

Thanking you for your courtesy in this, as in all other matters, I am, etc."

To which the Board answered:

"Answering yours of the 4th—aliens who have resided in the United States at least seven years established what is called a domicile, which practically guarantees their admission to the United States upon their return, regardless of quota. Of course we all know that, to be a full-fledged American citizen is to be desired under all circumstances."

Alien Public Charges

The number of people who have become public charges has alarmingly increased during the past year.

City and State institutions all over the country complain of having alien patients to the partial exclusion of citizens. This is another phase which needs attention and prompt remedy. Public charge cases are subject to deportation during a period of five years after the admission of the alien, and the Board has time and again prevented deportation by inducing friends of the alien to pay the government, or institution in question, the cost of maintaining the inmates or patients.

In March, 1922, the Board received the following inquiry from Mr. Louis H. Levin, of the Associated Jewish Charities of Baltimore:

"Could you get for us some information in regard to the following question:

Quite a number of years ago you obtained a decision from some of the authorities connected with the Immigration Department of Washington to the effect that an immigrant receiving assistance from a private charitable organization, one that received no aid from city, state or governmental agency, is not a public charge, and is not subject to deportation on account of the receipt of such aid within five years of landing. Lately, I have heard that this ruling has been questioned by the Department, which is attempting to construe the receipt of aid from a private corporate body as a receipt of public aid, and not private, and therefore subjects the recipient to the Deportation Law.

Can you tell me what the rule of the Immigration authorities is on this point, and if there has ever been a decision covering this aspect of the case?

Thanking you in advance, and with kindest regards, etc."

Your Chairman, on receipt of this communication, immediately took the matter up with the Commissioner-General of Immigration, and received from him on March 25, 1922, the following reply:

"My dear Mr. Wolf: Answering your letter of the 21st instant, I beg to advise you that the Bureau knows of no ruling (Department or otherwise) to the effect that an alien who receives assistance 'from a private charitable organization' is thereby to be regarded as a public charge, and, as such, subject to deportation under the provisions of Section 19 of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917. Of course, where such an organization is supported partly by private and partly by public funds, the alien who is the beneficiary thereof is a public charge to the extent that he is supported by funds paid in by the public.

Respectfully,

W. W. Husband,
Commissioner-General"

In short, only aliens who are inmates of institutions or hospitals which are maintained in part or wholly by the public are considered public charges, and thus are liable to deportation. (An able opinion to this effect, citing authorities, was rendered by Solicitor Earl, of the Department of Labor, to the Secretary of Labor, July 28, 1910, in answer to an inquiry of your Chairman, which was reinforced by a brief prepared by Mr. Kohler which was printed soon after in the "Jewish Exponent.")

Expediting Vise of Passports Abroad

Hundreds of appeals have been brought to the attention of your Chairman to secure his aid in having authorization granted to Consuls abroad to vise passports. Applications for vise of Polish passports are not referred to our State Department, the United States Consuls in said country being vested with absolute power and authority to grant the vise or refuse, according to the circumstances of the case. Naturally, the aliens in Poland, at least many of them, do not understand this quota situation, and, of course,

having made their preparations to come to the United States, secure their passports and present them to the Consul. His office, being crowded with thousands of similar cases, does not have the time to make proper explanation, but instead, puts the alien off with the unsatisfactory answer that the vise cannot be granted at that time—gives him a number and tells him to return later. They wait for what is doubtless to them an interminable length of time, and once more present themselves before the Consul, with the same result. Then they appeal to their relatives and friends in the United States for funds and aid in securing the desired vise. In cases of this character, to wit, non-vise of passports on account of excess quota, there is absolutely no step to be taken from this end. The State Department under its ruling refuses to institute any action in vise cases, unless requested so to do by the Consuls abroad, and there is therefore nothing left for the alien to do, but to wait the required time until a new quota is declared. What is true of Poland is also true of many other countries—Turkey, Jugo-Slavia, Germany, etc. Russia forms an exception. All applications for the vise of Russian passports are referred to our State Department here before adverse action is taken. If the consuls, of course, have no doubt about granting the vise, they do so. In many Russian cases brought to the attention of your Chairman, where the State Department here has no record of the application of the alien for vise and request of the Consul in Russia for authority to vise, the matter has been taken up direct with the Consul, with the result that in numerous cases the granting of the vise has been expedited.

Aid has also been given by the Chairman in the transmission of money to Europe, in securing justice for accused citizens in civil life, the army and navy, etc.

During the year an order was issued by the Post Office Department providing for the shipment of parcel post packages up to eleven pounds each to Russia. This order was naturally sent to postmasters all over the United States. Many appeals came to the Board for aid in shipping clothing and shoes to relatives in different parts of Russia, and on taking the matter up with the Post Office Department, advice was given in regard to the above-mentioned order. In one particular case which I brought to the attention of the Post Office Department, I received the following reply:

"With reference to your communication, in which you quote letter from the gentleman at Demopolis, Alabama, relative to the sending of clothing to Kiev, Russia, you are informed that the matter has been taken up with the postmaster at Demopolis, and proper instructions issued relative to the acceptance of such articles for despatch to Russia."

Medal in Honor of Haym Salomon Urged

The Chairman received an interesting letter from Maude Morrison Frank, of New York City, a great-great-granddaughter of Haym Salomon, asking for a government position in the Bureau of Education. He had an interview with President Harding and told him of her request. The President said he would gladly aid her. The Chairman then told him of the seeming ingratitude of our government in the matter of Haym Salomon. The President requested him to

send him (the President) a written statement, setting out the facts, which was done in the form of a letter bearing date February 4, 1922.

On account of important matters that constantly engrossed his time, the President was unable as yet to send a special message to Congress.

Urge All Immigrants to Speedily Become Citizens

The delay in making application for American citizenship is very deplorable at times. Some of our co-religionists have been in the United States twenty years and more, and have never become naturalized—some of them are not even declarants. As to many other classes of aliens it is even worse. The consequence of this criminal neglect has caused deserved misery. Too much emphasis cannot be laid on the desirability of all those, women as well as men, who come to our shores becoming full-fledged citizens just as soon as possible, not only for their own protection, but as a protection for their children, and, most of all, for the purpose of fulfilling their duty to the country of their adoption.

An interesting and important decision was recently rendered by the State Department in the case of an American-born woman, whose citizenship was declared forfeited by her marriage to a German alien, who had been in this country a number of years without taking any steps towards becoming a naturalized citizen. Her application for passport to visit Germany was refused. She was told that she would have to get the passport from the local German representative, or the Consul General at New York City, and have it viseed by the American Consul when she desired to return.

This is another sad incident where, had the man become naturalized, all this trouble would have been avoided. Your Chairman repeats that naturalization is one of the main educational factors for Americanization, and there is no excuse for an immigrant, and more especially for a Jew, not taking the necessary steps towards naturalization and becoming a citizen of the United States at the earliest possible moment. No man should be accepted as a member of any Jewish congregation unless he is an American citizen, or has taken the necessary preliminary steps to become one.

The contest against the Ku-Klux wave of intolerant prejudice and un-American attacks on the citizenship of certain classes has not been part of our work. The secular and Jewish press, statesmen in and out of Congress, and legislatures, have done this in far better shape, but though it is a serious danger that confronts this country, like the Know-Nothing craze, it will die and be buried with the contempt of all sane, decent and patriotic Americans.

This department has given the utmost within its power in the movement to eliminate the teaching or reading of the Bible in the public school. We are happy to say the movement's workers are bending several of the states.

We recommend that the coming convention take some concrete action on several of the matters contained in our report.*

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*N. B.—The next two sections of this report have been prepared by our colleague, Mr. Max J. Kohler, and deserve careful attention.—Simon Wolf.

Violation of Minority Protective Guarantees of the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations

Economic misery abroad, and failure to check lawlessness and revolutionary propaganda, are responsible for considerable continuing persecution of our co-religionists abroad in various countries, notwithstanding treaty guarantees of the rights of minorities, often specifically of the Jews. With normal economic conditions restored, and growing familiarity in practice with the principles of a "government of laws, not of men," under new constitutions and fundamental laws, the situation will undoubtedly improve greatly. As it is, however, we are glad to be able to record that almost everywhere wholesale anti-Semitic persecution and mob-spirit manifestations against the Jews were less serious during the past year than they were the year before. Naturally, disturbed conditions and unfamiliarity in some instances on the part of Jews abroad, with the fact that their real good lies in equal laws, and not in special "national Jewish rights," led on occasion to exaggerated reports of excesses against them, and to unwise verbal assaults on the attitude of their officials. Under the scheme of the Peace Treaties, the League of Nations was given jurisdiction over such violations of the rights of minorities. It has, in several notable instances, adopted appropriate measures to protect Jewish minorities from excesses on the part of majorities. Naturally, however, the declination of our government to join the League in any form thus far, has deprived the Jews of their best and most disinterested friend in such council of the nations, and the compartive weakness of the League of Nations has made it very conservative in pressing such Jewish charges.

Mr. Lucien Wolf, of London, has been particularly active in presenting Jewish grievances of this kind to the League of Nations on behalf of the British Conjoint Jewish Committee, and the British Government in particular has championed this cause at his instance. A well-posted correspondent of the London "Jewish Chronicle," in its issue of Oct. 6, 1922, sums up the steps taken by the League at its recent Assembly at Geneva in this field, as follows:

"Looking back on the League of Nations Assembly, it is perfectly obvious that the question of the protection of minorities in various countries is second only in importance to that of disarmament, to which it is in some degree related. Lort Robert Cecil has pointed out that the treatment of minorities is a perennial source of strife, and even of warfare. While the subject concerns the Jews in various parts of Europe most intimately, it is a much larger question, for it is at the root of the troubles in Asia Minor, and, as has been shown, it affects also the condition of native races in far-flung parts of Empire, mandated territories and obscure corners of the globe.

"It is well that the matter is kept to the forefront by the three leading men of the League, Lord Robert Cecil, Professor Gilbert Murray and Dr. Nansen, who are backed up by a growing contingent of delegates, including the exceedingly popular Dr. Dante Bellegarde, of Haiti, determined that the League shall spare no effort to improve the conditions of existence of persecuted peoples the world over. As a matter of fact, the treatment of minorities is becoming a kind of test question for members of the League, and it may be declared with certainty that unless humane and civi-

lized conditions obtain in a country, that country will find itself excluded. In due course exclusion is going to be a calamity, so that improvement may therefore be anticipated. The League, as Mr. Motta, the ex-President of Switzerland, put it, has become the guardian of the minorities.

"Nevertheless, it will be a slow process. The statement issued last week by the Latvian Legation in London indicates the temperament that is opposed to reform. Latvia and Esthonia put up an ingenious contention, a plea for a world treaty on the subject of minorities. But it was seen through, and they were told bluntly by the three protagonists that this was but a device for delay which could not be tolerated. Dr. Pusta, the Esthonian delegate, was in fact called before the Council and told that his government would be expected to fulfill the obligations which were a condition of its admission to the League.

"The long dispute between Lithuania and Poland with regard to the Vilna region is a matter affecting the treatment of the non-Polish minority. It is disputed territory, where, it is stated, the overwhelming majority is hostile to Polish domination. This led to the publication of charges, and denials, in which—to put it plainly—some one was palpably lying. The contentions of Mr. Ashkenazy, the Polish delegate, that there had been no pogroms, did not carry conviction, and it may be remarked that Mr. Ashkenazy is a long, long way from being the most popular delegate to the Assembly. His attitude was distinctly irritating. Mr. Venceslas Silzikauksas, the fair-haired and extremely youthful-looking delegate of Lithuania, stuck to his charges valiantly, and his offer to submit

to the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and his plea that a Committee of Inquiry or a Permanent Commissioner should be sent out, impressed all hearers. Mr. Ashkenazy made an attempt at the plenary session to confuse the issue, and was sharply brought to book by Lord Robert Cecil, who pointed out that the Polish delegate was wrong in maintaining that the 'great majority of the Committee' was opposed to an inquiry. He explained that some members desired that a committee should be sent out directly; others thought the matter must be left to the Council of the League. Mr. Motta upheld this view, and Mr. Ashkenazy, who had suggested postponement of the discussion, had to accept the correction. The matter is, therefore, left to the Council."

The general procedure adopted by the League of Nations for presenting grievances of minorities was ably outlined by this Geneva correspondent of the same paper in its issue of Sept. 22, 1922, as follows:

"The minorities question continued to be debated in committee day by day, and it was interesting to note the persistent efforts to water down the resolutions of Professor Gilbert Murray. Mr. Honotaux, of France, and Mr. Scialoja, of Italy, the champion 'destructive critic' of the Assembly of the League of Nations, came to the aid of the representatives of the new nations, and they and the Bulgarian representative, Mr. Radeff; Mr. Ashkenazy (Poland); Mr. Osusky (Czecho-Slovakia); Mr. Ninchitch and Mr. Yovanivitch (Jugo-Slavia—here called the Serb-Croat-Slovene State), displayed an ingenuity in word-spinning and quibbling that would have put any Talmudic pilpulist into the shade. One or two made no effort

to conceal their real intentions. They wished to kill the resolutions, or at least to render them completely innocuous, and the speeches suggested that the happiest countries were those with minorities which the rest of the world believed to be badly treated.

"The resolutions were sent to a sub-committee for re-drafting, and finally, the one suggesting the appointment of resident representatives to certain districts to report impartially on the treatment of minorities, was 'suppressed,' and its place taken by a statement in the report of the committee to the Assembly that Professor Murray had emphasized the value of such practice, and that accordingly the fact was placed on record with a hope that the Council of the League might have recourse to the system 'in suitable cases ....with the consent of the government concerned.' It is a curious compromise, but better, at any rate, than complete rejection. The other disputed resolution, suggesting appeal by aggrieved parties to the International Court of the Hague, was completely altered, until it proposed that members of the Council alone should have the power to appeal to the Court, without prejudice to other methods of conciliation. At the same time, the report contained Professor Murray's original resolutions in full, and Lord Robert Cecil told me that he and the Professor are, on the whole, satisfied with the results of the committee's debates.

"These discussions revealed the extraordinary fear among the nations that activity on behalf of minorities would encourage them to make impossible demands. At the same time, Professor Murray, and those who supported him, insisted on the minorities

co-operating loyally with the citizens of the respective States; and the League is establishing a tradition and machinery that must act as a check to those governments which have an idea that they may do as they please with subjects who differ from the majority of their citizens in language, race or religion. With Europe's frontiers drawn crazily, the existence of the League, its resolutions, and the record of its discussions, are essential to the well-being of masses of the people, many of whom are Jews. The failure of Latvia and Esthonia to sign the declaration in favor of the protection of minorities is not lost to sight, and may yet lead to action by the Council, which will teach these young nations that they cannot enter the League and at the same time behave as if they were outcasts. Dr. Nansen has his eye on them."

It is obvious that ill-advised demands for distinctive Jewish political "national rights" arouse much feeling against the Jews in those countries, and the sensitiveness of sovereign states—especially new ones—to being haled by non-sovereign accusers before divers weak assemblies to answer accusations under abnormal conditions, which are sometimes ill-advised and often exaggerated, must be taken into account, in the interest of the minorities themselves.

In the most authoritative "History of the Peace Conference of Paris" which has thus far appeared (published in London under the auspices of the Institute of International Affairs), edited by H. V. Temperley, of Cambridge University, the most extended consideration so far to be found in print is accorded to the treaty provisions for "Protection of Minorities" (Vol. 5, pages 112-365 and 432-470). The following inter-

esting remarks are made regarding the attitude of Jews at the Peace Conference to these clauses (pp. 136-7):

"As is well known, there were considerable differences among the representatives of the Jews as to the objects which they desired to secure. On the whole, it may be said that the English Jews tended to confine their efforts to securing to their co-religionists the widest personal liberty and full opportunities for the use of their own religion and the maintenance of their own customs. There was, however, a party which went further than this, and aimed at getting official recognition of what they called 'Jewish nationality.' They seemed to have hoped that the Conference would give official recognition to the Jews in Poland and in other states as an organized corporation with definite political rights, and there are indications that if this had been secured, they might then have pressed for representation of this 'Jewish nationality' on the League of Nations. It need not be said that any suggestion of this kind was ruled out from the beginning. M. Clemenceau's letter specially points out that the clauses of the Treaty 'do not constitute any recognition of the Jews as a separate political community within the Polish state.'

"The recognition of 'national rights' of the Jews in Poland would have been completely inconsistent with the territorial sovereignty of the state, which is the basis of our whole modern system. It is in accordance with this that, for instance, the educational control of the schools assigned to the Jews is given, not to one general committee supervising Jewish education for the whole of Poland, but to 'Committees,'

which are clearly intended to be mere local bodies."

Curiously enough, these minority protective clauses are described in this work as English in origin, and the circumstance that they were in fact first sponsored by America, and originally drafted in their ultimate form by Mr. Louis Marshall, of New York City, is ignored. We understand, however, that the editor of this work has recently conceded that he believes it to be correct "that the first suggestion as to the minority treaties was at America's instigation," thus confirming some remarks on this subject in our prior annual reports, now re-inforced by Ray Stannard Baker's newly published work, "Woodrow Wilson and Settlement," based on ex-President Wilson's own official papers, and Prof. Manley O. Hudson's paper in House and Seymour's "What Really Happened in Paris." It is also gratifying to find interesting and important material regarding Jewish representations at the Peace Conference, the Polish Pogrom Commission Inquiry and Reform Judaism's attitude to Zionism in Mr. Henry Morgenthau's reminiscences, entitled "All in a Life Time," just issued. On pages 349-350 we find a reprint of the bulk of the "statement" against Political Zionism (not readily accessible elsewhere), submitted by Mr. Morgenthau, Hon. Julius Kahn and Rabbi Isaac Landman to the Peace Conference on behalf of 275 prominent American Jewish signers, as drafted by Dr. Henry Berkowitz, Dr. David Philipson, the late Prof. Morris Jastrow and Max Senior, and which accords with prior declarations of this organization, which had dissevered itself from the American Jewish Congress movement on the issues of political Zionism and national Jewish political rights.

As is, of course, well known, the League of Nations approved the mandate over Palestine, conferred by the Treaties of San Remo and Sevres on Great Britain, with its provision regarding permission to establish "a national Jewish home" there, but with authority to restrict immigration, and with guarantees covering the rights of other nationalities there, which render it doubtful (particularly in the light of official statements by Winston Churchill and Sir Herbert Samuels, the British High Commissioner), whether any considerable Jewish increment in Palestine's population will be permitted. On the other hand, native Arab and native Christian opposition to the "national Jewish home" idea, continues.

The joint resolution of the Congress of the United States, signed by President Harding September 21, 1922, approving of this measure, had a curious legislative history, involving a significant modification which the press of this country has wholly overlooked. Originally introduced by Senator Lodge, it passed the U. S. Senate May 3, 1922, in an extraordinary form. Not content with the phraseology of the Balfour Declaration in favor of the establishment in Palestine of *"a* national home for the Jewish people," the Senate resolution substituted the words *"the* national home," to indicate still more clearly the theory that the Jew was to have a "home" nowhere else than in Palestine, and the further saving condition of the Balfour Declaration was deliberately stricken out, that this should be without prejudice "to the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in other countries (Cong. Record, May 3, 1922, p. 6784). In the House of Representatives thereafter, however, the resolution was reported

in modified form, and thus passed that House June 30, 1922 (Cong. Record, pp. 10549-58, 10834 et seq.). The words "a national home" were avowedly and intentionally substituted, probably in consequence of Committee "Hearings," at which Dr. David Philipson and Rabbi Isaac Landman of this organization vigorously opposed the entire resolution. Moreover, Congressman Burton, of Ohio, in his address in favor of the resolution, referred to some liberal Jewish opposition to the resolution, and stated that the qualification regarding non-prejudicing of rights and political status of the Jews in other countries had been omitted, because unnecessary in a country like the United States, where the Jews, of course, have full and equal rights. Its significance as an affirmative declaration of the fact that the Jews of the United States, and of most countries of Europe, desire no citizenship in any other country than that in which they are happily domiciled, was overlooked, however. Of course, it is an erroneous but very common version of the Balfour Declaration to make it read "a national home*land* for the Jewish people," instead of "a national home," and this misconception is at the bottom of much Zionist dissatisfaction with the terms of the English mandate over Palestine.

Anti-Semitic Discrimination at American Colleges*

The proposal of Pres. Lowell, of Harvard University, that the percentage of Jewish students to be received there be limited, naturally aroused much discussion

*Since the above was published, a very able biography of "Edward Everett, Orator and Statesman," was published by Paul Revere Frothingham, which contains an account of an interesting but overlooked incident in the history of Harvard

and protest throughout the country. His claim seems to be correct, however, that certain other colleges reach the same result by more secret methods. An important general principle is involved, not to be limited even to such distinguished institutions as our higher seats of learning, and members of this Board have done their share to awaken correct public sentiment on a subject which the governing authorities of that insti-

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College under the administration of that most distinguished of all its presidents, which is of much present-day significance. It shows how loyal Harvard was to the democratic principle in education under trying conditions nearly a century ago. While, fortunately, the overseers of Harvard University recently unanimously rejected the narrow and un-American recommendation of its present-day president, rumor has it that in certain colleges of the land, such discrmination is still practiced, while in some schools and universities in Eastern Europe, the matter has become so flagrant that infractions of recent peace treaty clauses protecting the educational rights of minority races are being brought under the name "numerus clausus" before the League of Nations and are likely to be submitted to the International Court of Justice.

Under these conditions, the passage from Edward Everett's biography concerning an occurrence of about 1846 becomes particularly interesting. It reads as follows (p. 299): "There is one incident that should not be forgotten in connection with his presidency. It was significant and memorable. A colored boy by the name of Beverly Williams was offered for the examination of admission to the college. He had tutored one of Mr. Everett's sons, and was ranked as the best Latin scholar of his class. When it became known that he was ambitious to go to Harvard, it was openly hinted in various quarters that, though he might pass the examination, he would never be admitted by the authorities. But President Everett was of a different opinion. He said, and said with all the authority his position gave him: 'The admission to Harvard College depends upon his examinations, and if this boy passes the examinations he will be admitted; and if the white students choose to withdraw, all the income of the college will be devoted to his education.' That was the word, not so much of a diplomat, as of a scholar and a gentleman, who was an American to the core, and knew the meaning of equality and liberty."

It should, of course, be remembered that at that period, we not only had no civil rights laws, but that negro slavery was

tution are still considering, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." The United States government, through diplomatic channels and otherwise, has in the past repeatedly protested against somewhat similar educational restrictions against the Jews in Russia, Roumania and Poland, and accordingly the evil results that would follow if Pres. Lowell's plan be adopted, in stultifying all such future efforts on our part abroad, even on behalf of Jewish enjoyment of elementary common school and high school facilities, should not be lost sight of. In fact, recent reports from Germany, where the anti-Semitic movement has developed enormously since the war—on the general principle that the Jew must always be made the scapegoat—show that even there Jewish participation in elementary instruction in some districts is now jeopardized, despite the terms of the Treaty of Peace and

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expressly protected by the federal constitution, and that the social ostracism to which the negro was then exposed was such that Alexander Dumas recorded the insults and humiliation to which he was subjected, by reason of his partial negro descent, in his efforts to secure accommodations at a New York hotel on his visit to this country when already a distinguished man of letters. As regards Edward Everett, moreover, he was so eager to avoid Southern secession, that he had alienated some Northern support by deprecating all agitation of the negro question, and may well be said, as Mr. Frothingham points out (p. 354), to have deserved the title of great "Defender of the Union," if his friend and associate, Daniel Webster, earned the title of great "Defender of the Constitution." Yet when such concrete case arose, in practice in his line of duty, he was conspicuously faithful to a great American principle. The circumstance that Edward Everett was not merely president of Harvard University for some time, editor of the "North American Review" and probably the most cultured American of his day, but also Webster's successor as American Secretary of State and sometime United States Minister to Great Britain, and Governor of Massachusetts, gives this incident particular weight as an international precedent.—Editors.

the new German Constitution. In Munich, for instance, popular clamor and openly-expressed prejudice on the part of so-called Christian fellow students and instructors, has now been driving almost all Jewish pupils out of the high schools, by subjecting our co-religionists to intolerable annoyances. In Saxony, it is reported, arbitrary refusals to excuse pupils from the public schools for absenting themselves on any but legal holidays, heavily penalizes Jewish and Catholic pupils, as well as their parents, for absenting themselves on their religious holidays. Of course, nearly all over the Continent, serious economic embarrassment, coupled with religious and racial antagonism, leads to efforts to exclude thousands of students on one pretext or another from the higher institutions of learning, often for the assigned reason that they are not legally resident in the particular place in question, because of changes in the boundaries of particular countries and enforced banishment caused by the war. Under these circumstances we incorporate herewith as Appendix II, an article on the Harvard incident, published by Mr. Max J. Kohler, of this Board, in the "New York Times" of Sunday, July 23, 1922, and elsewhere reprinted; it is here reproduced, with some passages restored, heretofore curtailed. Mr. Kohler clearly points out that in New York and many other states having similar "Civil Rights Acts" on their statute books, such discrimination on racial or religious lines is even a violation of the criminal laws of the state, and that, where this is not the case, as in Massachusetts, the true American spirit,—finding expression in the principle underlying such laws, first enacted at the instance of Harvard's distinguished son, Charles Sumner, of

Massachusetts, by the Federal Government and by various states,—requires the cessation of such discriminations. When the precedents established by American statesmen so widely divergent in their general views as Thomas Jefferson, Charles Sumner, Grover Cleveland and Theodore Roosevelt can be invoked in favor of a claim, one may be quite certain that true American principles underlie it. In this connection, it is interesting to observe that one of the Acts, soon after the days of the "Civil War," of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites"—with which our own Committee was merged, shortly after the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was formed—was to secure a revocation from the Board of Trustees of the College of the City of New York, of the ruling of the then President of that College regarding not excusing Jewish students absenting themselves on their religious holidays, except on condition of their forfeiting all their marks for those days, thus placing them out of the race for College honors with non-Jewish classmates. The executive official in question—who was more familiar with military strategy than with the history of the development of American principles and the decisions of the federal courts—took the position that a public college ought to ignore all sectarian matters, including religious holidays, and therefore declined to regard absence on a student's most important religious holidays as excusable, though this executive chose to shut his eyes to the fact that statutes closed the doors of the College on the religious holidays of nearly all the Christian students. Fortunately, the superiors of this official, by resolution, were induced to give him a lesson in the true principles of American

religious liberty, which he was constrained to follow thereafter.

The subject of Jewish attendance at higher institutions of learning in America is so important, and is attracting so much attention today, that it will be well to supplement the article in the appendix somewhat. It is true that, in their origin, nearly all our American colleges in pre-revolutionary days were sectarian institutions, but the American spirit changed their status in this respect, almost from the adoption of our Federal Constitution on, and the grant of exemption from taxation, bestowal of large public subsidies, and authorization to confer degrees and the like they have enjoyed, all recognize that they bear at least a quasi-governmental character, which makes them subject to legislative regulation with respect to racial and religious tests. In New York State, the Legislature was so impressed with the importance of making colleges absolutely undenominational, that in organizing Columbia College right after the Revolution, it even made Rev. Gershom Mendes Seixas, Rabbi of the only Jewish congregation of the state in that day, one of its trustees. Jefferson's attitude with respect to the University of Virginia is outlined in his own letter to Isaac Harby, reprinted in Mr. Kohler's article. Even though it be conceded that admission to colleges may properly be limited by a test of mental ability and the like—unlike elementary school instruction, which should be open to all—and that courses in many of these institutions must continue to be remunerated for, while others, established by the State itself, must, under public law, be gratuitously and universally rendered—such Civil Rights

Acts as have been referred to, and the American principles underlying them, cannot properly justify curtailment, avowed or devious, on the lines of race or religion. Supposed personal advantages to the institution of learning itself, and desire to cater to the snobbish "loyalties" of students, prospective students or alumni, can no more justify such discriminations and tests as to American colleges and universities than in the case of public theaters and the like, whose claims to manage their own affairs as they like, regardless of such principles, have been regularly overruled by our courts for decades. In Hon. Oscar S. Straus' interesting, recently-published, autobiography, entitled "Under Four Presidents" (pp. 46-7), he does well to emphasize the precedent set by Grover Cleveland as President in the Keiley affair, in the matter of Austro-Hungary's refusal to accept him as U. S. Minister, for the assigned reason that his wife was a Jewess, though the post concededly involved qualifications making such representative personally acceptable to the foreign government. Mr. Straus well says: "The President and Secretary Bayard were incensed. Both rebuked this religious bigotry publicly, the President in his annual message to Congress and the Secretary of State in the answer to the Austro-Hungarian Minister at Washington"; he quotes what Grover Cleveland tersely stated in his annual message, on Dec. 8, 1885 (8 Richardson's Messages, 325; compare 366):

"The reasons advanced (by Austria, for objecting to receive Mr. Keiley) were such as could not be acquiesced in without violating my oath of office and the precepts of the Constitution, since they necessarily

involved a limitation in favor of a foreign government upon the right of selection by the Executive, and required such an application of a religious test as a qualification for office under the United States as would have resulted in the practical disfranchisement of a large class of our citizens and the abandonment of a vital principle in our government . . . That gentleman has since resigned his commission, leaving the post vacant. I have made no new nominations, and the interests of this government at Vienna are now in the care of the secretary of legation."

As in the public incident in question, no test as to a person's race or religion is admissible on application to enter any public institution of learning in America, under the Civil Rights Laws in force in many states, or the spirit underlying them. The inquiry whether Jewish craving for learning induces them to seek entrance to our universities in larger numbers than their proportionate part in the population of the district in question, is based on a line of inquiry which ought to be closed to the college authorities, as it is to our public officials. The proper lesson which the United States of America ought to continue to teach the whole world, abroad as well as at home, may be derived from a heretofore unpublished passage in Mr. Straus' autobiography: When Theodore Roosevelt proffered to him the appointment to the President's Cabinet, after some personal expressions of esteem, he said: "I want to show Russia and some other countries what we think of the Jews in this country." Mr. Straus goes on to say: "Roosevelt added that he could not see that it would do any good, and might do harm, to make further protests regarding mas-

sacres in Russia; and he did not want to do anything that might sound well here, and have just the opposite effect there. He thought it would be much more pointed evidence of our government's interest, if he put a man like me into the Cabinet, and that such a course would doubtless have a greater influence than any words with the countries in which unreasonable discrimination and prejudice prevailed." So also as to this college test of race or creed, in excess of certain arbitrary percentages. Shall we set aside, at home even, at the instance of possibly unconscious selfish and bigoted opportunism, the important American precedents we have proclaimed to the world, even abroad?

Registration of Aliens

There are pending before the Congress of the United States, bills requiring the annual registration of all aliens in this country at indeterminate places with deportation as the penalty for non-compliance, even in case of pure oversight, and with the probable result that compliance will lead to an enormous number of deportations on purely technical grounds without time limit, of persons having all their family ties and all their interests here. They are frankly patterned on the unpopular Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 and the harsh Chinese Registration Law machinery in force, and would give unlimited opportunities throughout the country for blackmail, extortion and oppression, and are apt to cause injuries to the seven million aliens in this country, not paralleled in our day. Mr. Max J. Kohler, in the name of your Chairman and himself, appeared before the House Committee on Immigration, January 5, 1923, in vigorous

opposition to these bills, on behalf of this Board, the I. O. B. B. and the Baron de Hirsch Fund. It is hoped that these measures, applicable equally to non-Jewish and Jewish aliens, will be dropped.

The Board takes great pleasure in acknowledging the courtesy and good will shown by the different Bureaus and Departments of the Government.

We wish to add that during this year, as in the many years past, we are greatly indebted for the intelligent and active co-operation of Mr. Kohler and his many acts of kindness and courtesy.

Special thanks are due to Congressmen Julius Kahn, Isaac Siegel and J. A. Sabath for their many acts of good will.

We deeply deplore the death of our veteran colleague Israel Cowen, who at all times was active and alert.

Respectfully submitted,

SIMON WOLF, *Chairman.*

APPENDIX I

OUTLINE OF MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE PRESIDENT ON GROSS HARDSHIPS OF THE SO-CALLED CABLE EQUAL CITIZENSHIP BILL

The so-called "Equal Citizenship Bill' (see Cong. Record for Sept. 9, p. 13,392), which has just passed both Houses of Congress and is now before the President for his consideration, would work terrible hardship for hundreds of thousand of women, wives of residents of the United States, who have not yet become naturalized themselves, by reason of its applicability to the Immigration Laws. This effect of

the bill has been wholly overlooked by its supporters, who have not realized that for many, many years to come, hundreds of thousands of women whose husbands have preceded them to the United States, in order to provide means to establish a home here, will be unable to join them here. Heretofore the wife of one becoming a citizen of the United States has herself become a citizen through his naturalization, and has had a constitutional right to enter the country.

Under the unanticipated effects of the bill in question, the wives will be unable to join their husbands in the United States after the latters' naturalization, except in the very limited numbers prescribed by the 3% Quota Law, namely 3% per year of the number of each nationality in the United States in 1910, and only one-fifth of this 3% in any one month, under penalty of deportation. Terrible hardship and suffering will result for hundreds of thousands of immigrants whose wives have not yet joined them, and there will be a brutal separation of families. In 1920 there were over three and a quarter million unnaturalized males of voting age in the United States, hundreds of thousands of whose wives still lived abroad. The Immigration Commission statistics in 1910 indicate that about 22 7/10% of the married foreign born husbands residing here, had their wives still abroad; in the case of the Greeks, 74.7%, the Russian Hebrews 12½%, the South Italians 36.9%, the Magyar 43.3%, and the Polish 23%.

There has been a strong desire in many quarters, especially among women's organizations, to repeal the Act of Congress of 1907 under which an Ameri-

can woman, even if residing here, forfeits her American citizenship by marrying an alien, though he also is an American resident. There has also been a desire in many quarters to avoid the effect of the decision in U. S. vs. Cohen, 179 Federal Reporter, 834 (C. C. A.), holding that an alien married woman cannot become naturalized here as long as her husband is an alien. This is what has been commonly meant by this general demand, embodied in the Republican National Platform of 1920 in the paragraph:

"We advocate in addition the independent naturalization of married women. An American woman, resident in the United States, should not lose her citizenship by marriage to an alien."

The bill in question has, however, gone far beyond this, and will work terrible and unrecognized hardship in separating families under the Immigration Laws, in a manner not dreamed of by most of its supporters. The debate in the House wholly overlooked the effects of the bill under the Immigration Laws; the Senate passed the Bill without any discussion whatever.

Take a few instances in point. Under the Immigration Quota Law, the wives of men becoming naturalized after the passage of the law will no longer be admissible in excess of the 3% per year quota (or the 20% per month thereof), but the families will remain arbitrarily separated indefinitely! The wife will also have to establish her independent right to enter under all the other provisions of the Act. Even after entry, until she becomes natural-

ized here herself, (after acquiring English, etc.), she will be subject to deportation for five years after entry, for instance, because she may be overtaken by misfortune, and taken to a hospital at public expense as a result of an accident occurring to her or the like. She will thus be separated, not merely from her husband, but her own infant children who are citizens! The Solicitor of our State Department, in criticizing this bill, pointed out that abroad she will not be recognized as a citizen of her original country if married to an American citizen, and she will be literally a woman without a country, and protected by none; moreover, it violates many of our naturalization treaties.

The census of 1920 showed that there were 2,226,-712 alien white females in the United States over 21 years of age. They would have far greater difficulty in acquiring ability to read English than the men. Adult women have far greater difficulty in securing educational facilities than men. The night-school facilities for women, moreover, are very limited, and domestic and household duties stand in the way far more than in the case of men, to say nothing of lesser inclination, and there are scarcely any day classes for adults, even if bread-winning did not interfere. The same is true of the requisite knowledge of civics. In New York and various other States, recently-naturalized women cannot vote, if unable to read English, so such Act is not necessary to aid the policy of curtailing illiterate voters. Our naturalization courts are already congested, and this law would double the number of applications, without in any

way increasing the facilities, as has been recommended.

The bill should, in any event, not be made retroactive, so as to apply to women who married before its enactment. Wives of persons heretofore naturized, however, are not thereby prevented from joining their husbands here, for they became U. S. citizens through their husband's naturalization before its enactment.

SIMON WOLF, *Chairman,*
Board of Delegates of the Union of
American Hebrew Congregations.

MAX J. KOHLER,
Of Subcommittee.

APPENDIX II

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AT COLLEGES VERSUS THE LAW OF THE LAND

BY MAX J. KOHLER

In connection with the wide discussion that has taken place recently in the public press regarding alleged plans to discriminate in the admission of Jewish students at Harvard University, so as to exclude all above a certain percentage, reference was made to the alleged fact that Columbia University and New York University had reached the same result by the application of so-called "psychological tests." This has been authoritatively denied by representatives of these institutions, but the circumstance has, I believe, been overlooked that in New York State and in various other states having similar "Civil Rights Laws" in force, such discrimination would be an infraction of subsisting penal laws. When the proposed course would, in fact, make

those in charge of the colleges in question law-breakers, I think there is little sense in discussing academically the pros and cons of such proposed discrimination. Section 40 of our New York Civil Rights Law, as amended in 1918, provides:

"All persons within the jurisdiction of this state shall be entitled to the full and equal accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of any places of public accommodations, resort or amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law and applicable to all persons. No person being the owner, lessee, proprietor, manager, superintendent, agent or employee of any such place shall directly or indirectly refuse, withhold from or deny to any person any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges thereof, or directly or indirectly publish, circulate, issue, display, post or mail any written or printed communication, notice or advertisement, to the effect that any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of any such place shall be refused, withheld from or denied to any person on account of race, creed or color, or that the patronage or custom thereat of any person belonging to or purporting to be of any particular race, creed or color, is unwelcome, objectionable or not acceptable, desired or solicited. . . . A place of public accommodations, resort or amusement within the meaning of this article shall be deemed to include inns, taverns, roadhouses, hotels, . . . kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, academies, colleges and universities, extension courses and all educational institutions under the supervision of the regents of the state of

New York. . . . Nothing herein contained shall be construed to include any institution, club or place of accommodation which is in its nature distinctly private."

Section 41, among other things, makes the violation of this section a misdemeanor, punishable by fine or imprisonment.

It will be observed that colleges are expressly enumerated as being embraced by this prohibition. The statute is well drawn. It expressly excepts a place "which is in its nature distinctly private" on the one hand, while it affirmatively includes institutions of learning on the other. If members of the faculties and governing bodies of institutions of learning desire to make them "distinctly private," like clubs, they should arrange first of all to disassociate them from "purposes affected with a public use," surrender their exemption from taxation and public subsidies, and authority to confer degrees, and cease to boast of their status as public agencies, and the like. It is the privilege of a private club to bar whom it pleases and for what reason it pleases, but the fallacy involved in the erroneous confounding in some quarters of universities with social clubs is merely emphasized by such propositions as this. We may deplore the narrow-mindedness and bigotry of those who, lacking in true Americanism, would decline to welcome to their homes a person, merely because he is of a particular race or creed, but as long as a purely "private" matter is involved, it is no concern of the State. Our Civil Rights Laws, however, aim at discrimination at inns, hotels and schools just because these are not by "nature distinctly private," In the

leading case of People vs. King, 110 New York 418, the constitutionality of our New York act was sustained, in a criminal prosecution involving a skating rink, just because a public place was involved; Judge Andrews well said for the Court of Appeals that, if the basis of the discrimination had been "a rule excluding all Germans or all Irishmen or all Jews, the law as applied to such a case would have seemed entirely reasonable (United States vs. Newcombe, U. S. Dist. Ct., 4 Phila. 519)." Even a public dancing pavilion is within the statutory bar (Johnson vs. Auburn Railroad Co., 222 N. Y. 443). In the recent case of McKaine vs. Drake Business School, Inc., 107 Misc. Repts. 241, Judge Finch wrote an opinion on behalf of our N. Y. Appellate Term, applying the statute to a business school, and well pointed out that "it would seem difficult to hold upon this record that a school which concededly advertises for students upon billboards and elevated and subway stations throughout the city of New York was of a distinctly private nature." In the Johnson case, the New York Court of Appeals unanimously held that the bar against racial discrimination includes "each of those utilities, facilities and agencies created and operated for the common advantage, aid and benefit of the people, the denial of which to any person would be a discrimination, obstruction or deprivation in achieving prosperity, health, development or happiness."

Our Civil Rights Laws were patterned upon those drafted by one of Harvard's most distinguished sons, Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, whose zeal induced Congress to adopt such characteristically Am-

erican measure, aiming at prevention of race and creed discriminations, even with respect to local matters, which proved to be beyond federal jurisdiction. It is remarkable that even in darkest Czaristic Russia, in January, 1914, a national congress of Christian educators dared publicly to protest against the then prevailing Russian official policy of curtailing Jewish educational opportunity!

Many American citizens thought that American policy of opposition to all race and creed discriminations along educational lines had been safely established soon after our government was organized. The student of American educational history ought to bear in mind the noble service of Thomas Jefferson in this field, who was so pround of his identification with American higher educational endeavor that he directed that his tombstone should describe him as "Author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia," He thus refers to a measure which he took at his own instance, in the University of Virginia, over which he then presided, in the course of a letter he wrote to Isaac Harby in 1826: "I have thought it a cruel addition to the wrongs which that injured sect (the Jewish) have suffered, that their youth should be excluded from the instruction in science afforded to all others in our public seminaries, by imposing upon them a course of theological reading which their consciences do not permit them to pursue; and in the University lately established here, we have set the example of ceasing to violate the rights of conscience by any injunctions on the different sects respecting their religion."

If Massachusetts has not yet adopted similar Civil Rights laws, first drafted by one of her own greatest statesmen, it is time she did! The true American spirit is expressed in them. In a democracy, the young cannot be taught democratic principles too early.

APPENDIX III*

HISTORY OF THE BOARD OF DELEGATES ON CIVIL RIGHTS

By Max J. Kohler

The above-named title has been assigned to me for treatment on this important jubilee, but strangely enough—valuable as have been the services of the body in question, during five or more decades (during little more than one of which I have been personally active)—no substantial outline, even, of its activities has heretofore appeared. The reasons for this omission, accentuated by the absence of the title, even, from the "Jewish Encyclopedia," and its practically complete omission from the index of the first twenty volumes of proceedings of the American Jewish Historical Society—which latter society has wisely refrained from chronicling current events—are varied.

Chief of them is the fact that this Board has not employed a brass band to celebrate its achievements, but has contented itself with unchronicled work, well done. Next is the circumstance that its activities have

*This paper, published in the "American Hebrew" of January 19, 1923, originally, was ordered to be reprinted as part of this report by the Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1923.

been so completely identified with those of its distinguished, indefatigable and self-sacrificing chairman, Hon. Simon Wolf, of Washington, ever since he accepted that position thirty-three years ago (and even before, as it was on his motion that an earlier organization in which he had been active was consolidated with it), that one is naturally disposed to turn, for a narrative of its activities, to his autobiography. "The Presidents I Have Known from 1860 to 1918," where, however, the subject was not (and was not intended to be) comprehensively treated.

A further, but unfortunate, circumstance is the fact that our contemporary American chroniclers of Jewish events have almost invariably signally failed to treat adequately our distinctively Jewish contemporary religious and related activities, as distinguished from Jewish charitable endeavor, Jewish activity in our American political, business and social life, necrologies and other biographies, sermons and the accounts of anti-Jewish pogroms and other phases of Jewish suffering and anti-Jewish discrimination. Even the annual "reports" of the Board of Delegates from 1879 on, in the annual printed "Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations," beginning in 1872, have, I believe, never been summarized heretofore.

I say "heretofore," but the brief space allotted to me here is not adapted to any detailed summary, and exigencies of space have very often caused the omission from the Board's reports of matters of importance, especially general matters, fresh at the time in the recollection of the reader.

I have intentionally preserved the abbreviated caption assigned to me, as it applies equally to the

organization antedating Isaac M. Wise's important step in organizing the "Union of American Hebrew Congregations," which had been called the "Board of Delegates of American Israelites," and which was formally merged, in 1878, after a notable and useful career, beginning in 1859 (now commonly forgotten), in the newly organized department of our organization, then given the name "Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights," and since slightly abbreviated by the omission of the words "and Religious."

The next volume of the "Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society"* will, I understand, contain a paper of mine, prepared some years ago, on the activities of that earlier "Board of Delegates of American Israelites," and reprinting in full, a summary now almost inaccessible, of its twenty years of beneficent activity, prepared in 1879, by the late Myer S. Isaacs of New York, under the title "Final Report." he having been its most active worker from its birth to said consolidation.

Accordingly, I will merely remark here that this earlier body was organized in 1859, almost simultaneously with the "Alliance Israelite Universelle" (a valuable two-volume history of which was recently written by Mr. Leven, long its president), and actively co-operated with that organization, and with the "Board of Deputies of British Jews" (organized as far back as 1760) and with the English and Austrian branches of the Alliance, the "Anglo-Jewish Association" and the Vienna "Allianz."

The immediate occasion for the formation of the American and French organizations was the "Mor-

*See Vol. No. 29, p. 75 et seq.

tara Affair," which aroused the Jews all over the world to joint, though futile, action with respect to that incident. I cannot refrain from mentioning the names of Isaac Leeser and Adolph L. Sanger, in addition to Judge Isaacs', however, as the leading spirits in the old organization, though the former's efforts at the organization's attempted assumption of jurisdiction over controversial theological questions, prevented leading reform congregations under Einhorn, Merzbacher and others from joining, and was a mistake our great organizer, Isaac M. Wise, took pains to clearly avoid in the formation of our organization.[1]

It is, however, significant to mention a fact overlooked by that great man's biographers, that, in his genius for emphasizing the necessity for co-operation and organization, and in his self-abnegation, Isaac M. Wise first identified himself with the old body and sought to resurrect and strengthen the moribund rabbinical seminary called "Maimonides College," of Philadelphia, it had sponsored, and only when those measures failed did he organize our "Union."[2] As the "Civil Rights" work of the old organization had been well performed, however, the Union did not attempt to encroach on its sphere of activity, but logic and reason dictated the formal merger of the two organizations in 1878, under the advice of Simon Wolf,

[1] Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, p. 23 (1873); Prof. Henry Englander's "Isaac Leeser" in "Year Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis," Vol. 28 (1918), p. 213 et seq., especially 237-245, 234-5, 247-52.

[2] "Proceedings," p. 63 (1873); May's "Isaac Mayer Wise," p. 271, and Dr. Wise's contemporary writings in the Jewish press; Henry S. Morais "The Jews of Philadelphia," pp. 188-9; "Fifty Years' Work of the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia," pp. 54-77.

Mayer Sulzberger, Julius Freiberg, Bernhard Bettmann, I. Binswanger, Rev. George Jacobs, Leopold Bamberger, Solomon Levi, S. Wolfenstein and Hon. Josiah Cohen, besides Dr. Wise himself, and the taking over by the new organization of the leaders of the old one, Myer S. Isaacs, Adolph L. Sanger, Mayer Sulzberger, Simon Wolf, Myer Stern, A. S. Solomons, Moritz Ellinger, Julius Bien and Wm. B. Hackenburg,[3] especially after their joint collection and publication of the "Statistics of the Jews of the United States" around 1878, under the chairmanship of the late William B. Hackenburg, with the active aid of Jacob Ezekiel, Lewis Abraham, Jacob Furth, A. W. Rich, Philip Lewin, Lipman Levy, Rev. Henry S. Jacobs, William Bennett, Myer Stern, Simon Wolf and Julius Bien on the committee.[4] Of these, happily, Simon Wolf, Mayer Sulzberger and Josiah Cohen are still with us. The constitution of our organization was accordingly amended in 1878, as to defining the work of this Board, so as to read, substantially as today, as follows (p. 422, compare 426):

"It shall be the duty of the Union to keep a watchful eye on occurrences at home and abroad, concerning the civil and religious rights of Israelites, and to call attention of the proper authorities to the fact, should any violation of such rights occur, and to keep up communication with similar central Israelite bodies throughout the globe." Also (pp. 538, 2281):

[3] "Proceedings" (1876), pp. 242-3, 292; 1877), pp. 295, 245-8, 366, 378-381; (1878), pp. 422, 426, 537-8, 546; (1879), pp. 574-5, 578, 676-83.

[4] "Proceedings" as to Committee on Statistics (1876), pp. 245-6; (1877), pp. 349-357, etc.,-389; (1878), 508-517; (1879), pp. 687-9; (1880), 903, 905; (1881), 1074-6.

"To establish relations with kindred organizations in other parts of the world, for the relief of the Jews from political oppression, and for rendering them such aid for their intellectual elevation as may be within the reach of this Union."

Twenty-five years ago, on the occasion of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Union, Hon. Simon Wolf briefly summarized the main accomplished aims of the Board of Delegates, in terms almost equally applicable today, and at a time, when as now, anti-Semitism had taken upon itself new proportions, then in connection with the Captain Dreyfus affair, as follows (1898 Report, pages 3992, 3994):

"The Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights has done a vast amount of labor, at home and abroad, has never asked a favor based on sectarian lines, but always as citizens of the United States. It is a recognized power and factor, and never asks whether the case in hand is that of an Orthodox or Reformed, a member of the Union or not, but solely is he a Jew, honorable and trustworthy. The record of achievements of this Board for the last twenty-five years will make a notable and important historical contribution. Many hearts have been gladdened, many homes made happy by the prompt, energetic and patriotic action of this branch of the Union, and I cheerfully bear testimony to the various departments of our government for their liberal construction of statistics and for their high-toned American spirit. It is so pleasing to feel that you live under a flag that protects one and all, and that the Jew, as an American citizen, occupies the same place as any other Ameri-

can, in splendid contrast with the action had by a so-called republic across the sea. Here law and order govern, justice does not shun daylight, and the humblest stands the equal of the highest. Patriotism on the field of battle has no sectarian bias, but is the outcome of love of and for the institutions under which we have lived so happily, and to which we cling with loyal affection. God bless and preserve the United States.

That the condition of Jews in many parts of Europe and Asia is deplorable, no one can deny, and to bring about a reform in that direction is surely the aim and object to every intelligent Jew, no matter where he may be domiciled. But the question is not one of religion or sentiment, but of practical statesmanship. Whatever power we possess, whatever influence we have, whatever means are at our disposal should be used in effecting a change of legislation in the respective governments where the Jew is oppressed, at the same time working among our coreligionists, so that they will be evolved out of the Ghetto conditions, and the deplorable influence of mediaeval ideas, so that the higher aims and objects of modern civilization will be appreciated, and that while they shall be recognized as equals before the law, they must on the other hand recognize they are fellow citizens in the same spirit, and be obedient to the same laws of their respective countries. This is not a holiday work, nor can it be consummated in a year, but the foundation can be laid."

A bald outline of the activities of the Board of Delegates is to be found in the annual reports, printed in the annual "Proceedings of the Union," since 1879.

I examined them anew, and could more freely add much enthusiastic praise to the outline of 1898, just quoted, from the indefatigable and self-sacrificing chairman's words about what were really in very large degree his own activities. To do justice to the theme, an outline, at least, of its numerous activities and successes would be necessary, but that also is here out of the question, as it would require more space than this whole issue could afford. I must, therefore, content myself with saying a few words about a few lines of its activities, and singling out, with at least appropriate cross-references, a few of its signally important actions.

I just outlined the various subjects of its beneficent activities, on paper, very briefly, that are referred to in these printed reports, but a mere list of them would require columns of print. Reference must be made to the reports themselves, and to the history of the time.

As regards the most graphic ones, moreover, reference may be made to other conveniently accessible books, to supplement our "reports," besides the "Jewish Encyclopedia," and the "Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society." This also involves omitting further accounts, herein, of American efforts at ameliorating the condition of the Jew in Roumania and the Near East, from the days of Peixotto and of the Congress of Berlin to Secretary Hay's Roumanian note and the Algeciras Conference, treated more comprehensively in Kohler and Wolf's "Jewish Disabilities in the Balkan States—American Contributions toward their Removal, with Particular Reference to the Congress of Berlin," Cyrus Adler's "Jews in the Diplomatic

Correspondence of the United States," my "Jewish Rights at International Conferences," Mr. Wolf's "Presidents I Have Known," and Mr. Oscar S. Straus' "Under Four Administrations."

It eliminates all but a reference to the narrative of our efforts at improving the condition of the Jews in Russia, down to the time of the abrogation of the Russian Treaty, (the definite plan for which was sponsored and announced in Louis Marshall's epochal address at the "Union" Council of 1911 at New York; ("Proceedings" pages 6638-54), and the Russian Revolution; more detailed accurate accounts of these will be found in Simon Wolf's "Presidents" (particularly in its very important sections dealing with the Kishineff Massacre Petition and the Conference with President Taft of February 15, 1911, about the abrogation of the treaty); in Mr. Straus' above-cited reminiscences, and special chapters of the American Jewish Year Book, and the reports of the American Jewish Committee contained therein, and the I. O. B. B. volumes dealing with the Kishineff Massacre Petition and in memory of Leo N. Levi, to which should be added the United States Legislative "Hearings" cited in the "Jewish Disabilities'" volume (page 6), and the Weber-Kempster Commission Report, published as United States Executive Document 235 of the Fifty-second Congress, First Session.

The related conference of leading Jews with Witte when on the Portsmouth peace mission will be found more fully treated than in our reports, not merely in the above-cited works of Wolf and Straus, but also in Witte's own reminiscences (which, moreover, frankly concedes that nothing was left for the United

States to do, but abrogate the Russian treaty in 1911), and in Baron Rosen's reminiscences. The best answer ever given to slurs on American Jewish patriotism and good citizenship is to be found in Simon Wolf's conclusive refutation of the charge, single-handed, in "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen" (1895), which our Board sponsored, supplemented by the works of the American Jewish Historical Society and the advance reports of the elaborate study of Jewish patriotism in the great war, which is in preparation under the direction of Mr. Leavitt and his associates.

The discussion in these annual reports of the diplomatic protection of Jewish rights by the peace treaty and preparation for it, beginning with President Wilson's assurances to Mr. Wolf as far back as April 7, 1915 ("Proceedings" pp. 7934 et seq., 8006 et seq., 8425 et seq., 8763 et seq., 9017 et seq.), can be profitably supplemented by references, not merely to the American Jewish Year Book volumes and the reports of the American Jewish Congress Committee, my article on "Religious Guarantees at the Peace Conference," in the November-December, 1920, issue of the American Law Review, House and Seymour's "What Really Happened at the Peace Conference," Temperley's "History of the Peace Conference of Paris," volume 5, pp. 112-365, 432-470, Mr. Straus' reminiscences, and Henry Morgenthau's "All in a Life-Time," but particularly by reference to Kohler and Wolf's above-mentioned "Jewish Disabilities in the Balkan States" and my Year Book article on "Jewish Rights at International Conferences," "Jewish Rights at the Congress of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle" and

"Educational Reforms in Europe in their relation to Jewish Emancipation," studies expressly prepared for use as precedents in connection with the Peace Conference. As the Union of American Hebrew Congregations parted company with the American Jewish Congress and therefore in direct representation at Paris on the issues of political Zionism and national Jewish political rights, a large part of its direct labors at the Peace Conference is represented in these collections of precedents.

Unfortunately Mr. Louis Marshall, Judge Mack and their associates have not yet published the inside history of their successful efforts to secure the adoption of the minority protective clauses in the peace treaties through the American Peace Commission, which have already proved so useful to non-Jewish as well as Jewish minorities, despite our non-ratification of the League of Nations Covenant.

Despite some indications of occasional difference of opinion and policy, perhaps nothing more strongly indicates the spirit of co-operation which has existed between our body and the American Jewish Committee (organized in 1906), than the latter's publication of such works by active members of the former, and their hearty co-operation in immigration matters for the last fourteen years at least, to say nothing of membership of several of the same persons on both committees.

The consistent opposition of the "Union" to political Zionism—running through our reports—can profitably be supplemented by reference to Mr. Morgenthau's reminiscences, the late Prof. Morris Jastrow's "Zionism and the Future of Palestine," Dr.

K. Kohler's published writings, beginning even before the address of March 3, 1898, in "The Judaean" Addresses I p. 68, the writings of Isaac M. Wise and the Proceedings of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, down to the arguments against the U. S. Resolution in favor of the "Establishment of a National Home in Palestine," by Rabbis Philipson and Landman, in the published "Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives," on House Concurrent Resolution 52, on April 18-21, 1922, which culminated in the President's approval of an amended resolution September 21, 1922.

The discussion in our reports of Polish pogroms and the economic boycott can be profitably augmented by reference to Mr. Morgenthau's reminiscences, the report of this U. S. Government mission of which he was Chairman, published as U. S. Senate Document No. 177 of the Sixty-sixth Congress, Second Session, Arthur L. Goodhart's "Poland and the Minority Races" (reviewed by me in the "American Hebrew," December 3 to 24, 1920), Georg Brandes' stirring article in his "The World at War," the account of Louis Marshall's important interview with Dmowski of October, 1918, Brailsford's chapter on "The Polish Jews," in "Across the Blockade," and the appropriate volumes of the American Jewish Year Book, including both "Events" of the Jewish year and reports of the American Jewish Committee.

The numerous observations in our reports in favor of Americanization, good citizenship, naturalization and opposition to political solidarity of the Jews can be profitably augmented indefinitely by reference to the accounts of the work of the Baron de Hirsch Fund

(especially on its Twenty-fifth Anniversary in the March 12th, 1915, issue of the American Hebrew, and a supplementing of the same by reference to the Educational Alliance and the Hebrew Education Society of Brooklyn as well in the issues of May 7, 14, 28 and June 18, 1915). "Judaean Addresses," Vol. II; C. S. Bernheimer's "The Russian Jew in the U. S.", the Wolf, Straus and Morgenthau reminiscences, Mary Antin's book, Jane Addams' "Twenty Years at Hull House," Lillian D. Wald's "The House on Henry Street," the article in the 1921 Year Book on "Jewish Americanization Agencies," Bogen's "Jewish Philanthropy," and the reports of innumerable other Jewish societies.

The references to this organization's work in throwing light on the religious, activities and patriotism of the American Jew may be profitably augmented by the works "Judaism at the World's Parliament of Religions," published by the "Union," the publications of the American Jewish Historical Society and of the Jewish Publication Society, the "Jewish Encyclopedia," Mr. Wolf's and Mr. Straus' above-cited works, the "Proceedings of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Jews in the United States," the two volumes of Judaean Papers, the "Central Conference of American Rabbis" reports, and innumerable other writings.

From the beginning of its history until now, we find in our reports a consistent, vigorous opposition to sectarianism in our public agencies, including introduction of Bible and other sectarian instruction in the public school, to proposed constitutional amendments and bills to make our government sectarian; to discrimina-

tion against Jews in public office, our courts and social life, and vehement opposition to the classification of immigrants as Jews, while other religions are not so described (carried over into "Presidents I Have Known," pp. 238-264). This also embraced co-operation with the Anti-Defamation League of the I. O. B. B. and other organizations under Mr. Louis Marshall's lead, which combated the anti-Semitism of Henry Ford and others of his ilk. The Bloom case was given special attention in our Reports, and this also was carried over into "Presidents" (pp. 382-390).

An important and useful paper, on the basis of international precedents, was prepared at the request of the Board by Mr. Arthur K. Kuhn, in 1911, entitled "International Law and the Discriminations practiced by Russia under the Treaty of 1832"; it has just been drawn upon heavily by Prof. Ellery C. Stowell in his book on "Intervention." The important and useful changes in our N. Y. Civil Rights Laws, to aid in preventing discrimination against the Jews at hotels and other quasi-public agencies and in particular penalizing publications of offensive discriminatory advertisements, were promptly commended in these reports, and their publication led to their adoption elsewhere.

The early advocacy of the promotion of agriculture among the Jews of America in our Union's reports, long prior to the adoption of such plans by the Baron de Hirsch Fund, the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society and the National Jewish Farm School of Doylestown may well be supplemented by the articles on "Agricultural Colonies" in the Jewish Encyclopedia, by Leonard G. Robinson's historical article in the "Year Book" for 1912-13 on "The Jew and Agri-

culture," and more recently by the accounts of Aaron Aaronson's fine agricultural work in Palestine; David Lubin's splendid biography by Olivia Rosetti Agresti, and Prof. Rosen's wide-scaled undertaking in the Ukraine.

The sensational claims as to very extensive Jewish participation in the White Slave Traffic in 1910 led to an opening of the Government files on the subject to the Board, Jewish co-operation in bringing Jewish offenders to justice, and the discovery that the charge of Jewish participation was wildly exaggerated; since then our Board has co-operated even more actively than before in the admirable nation-wide work of the Council of Jewish Women, partially subsidized by the Baron de Hirsch Fund, in looking after and protecting Jewish immigrant girls against these dangers.

On the occasion of ill-advised and ultimately fatal assaults by Government agents on the splendid work of the Galveston Information Bureau—perhaps the finest original constructive work organized by the much-lamented Jacob H. Schiff—several of the most active workers on the Board rendered the Bureau valuable assistance. When reckless petty Government officials around 1910, supported by dicta from some bigoted and superficial federal inferior judges, began to challenge the right of Syrians, Turks, Armenians, Parsees and even Jews to be naturalized as "free white persons," the Board promptly sought the aid of the head of the Labor Department to stop this absurd campaign; it remained for Mr. Louis Marshall and the writer to finally establish the rights of Jews and Syrians, etc., to naturalization, as intervening counsel in the case of U. S. vs. Balsara, 180 Federal Reporter, 694 in the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in the summer of the year specified.

In thus picking out some, but by no means all, of the most important activities of the Board, some have avowedly been included in which its members were merely participants among others, and in which it was glad to interest other champions besides, and other works have been cited where the matters in question were more comprehensively treated.

In most of them, Simon Wolf (and his associates) on behalf of our Board, and as Washington Representative of the I. O. B. B., was a leading participant, and, generally, an initiator of the alleviating measure. In some few instances, others initiated the movement and even sometimes overlooked the need for securing his co-operation, but as he was always on the spot in Washington, and his indefatigable and disinterested zeal for the Jewish cause, as well as his American patriotism, were universally known, the Government would call him in for wise counsel, if the other prime movers did not. I have thus passed quickly over every subject I can refer to herein, except the Board's untiring service to the immigrant under his leadership, and that requires separate and lengthier treatment herein.

It is due to the Board of Delegates, and later in a measure also to the Baron de Hirsch Fund and the leaders of the American Jewish Committee, following in Simon Wolf's wake, that American Jewry has always presented a united front in aid of the Jewish fugitive from Russia and Roumania knocking at our doors, since the early 80's, a devotion limited only by the interests of our own beloved country.

At no hour of the day or night, all these years, have the ears of this American patriot been closed to

the entreaties of the unfortunate East-European co-religionist seeking to enter this asylum for the oppressed and land of promise. It was eminently suitable that the chief celebration of his eightieth birthday six years ago was arranged by the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, and that their December, 1916, Bulletin was devoted wholly to that auspicious event. On that occasion, the President of that society, manned and controlled by Russian Jewish immigrants, stated that they had investigated the records and the statistics, "and it will surprise you, as it has surprised us, to know that Simon Wolf has been instrumental in preventing 103,000 Jewish immigrants from being deported, after they had arrived upon American shores!"

Such self-sacrificing, indefatigable, and disinterested devotion is indeed unique! No eight-hour or twice eight-hour day was long enough to afford time for such an achievement, and it meant incessant personal communication with the Immigration officials during their office hours, and telephonic and written communication long before and after such hours. After these statistical figures were announced, the solicitor of the Labor Department, who had come to New York from Washington for the occasion, stated: "It did seem to me just for a moment that Mr. Wolf had come to see me about those 103,000!" As Arthur Brisbane next said, "It is a beautiful thought to have this gathering, and honor Mr. Wolf. It is a good example for the young people, makes them feel it worth while to give their life to such a cause as that to which he has devoted his."

As to Mr. Wolf's usual method in those cases,

Charles Nagel, Secretary of Labor, said five years previously: "The way Mr. Wolf approaches us is calculated to get best results, because he comes to us fairly, good-naturedly, and when he is defeated, he recognizes our point of view. That is the spirit in which you ought to come. You must keep in mind that an organization engaged in the protection of alien people naturally assumes the character of an advocate. It is bound to do it. It is human."

Naturally, his warm sympathy, his conscientious fidelity to truth and his devotion, above all, to the interests of our country, and on the other hand, respect for his indefatigable self-sacrificing zeal, and sane and tactful petitioning, account for such a record of admissions of unfortunates, destined to become useful and patriotic citizens of our land of glorious opportunity.

Such work as has been done by the Board of Delegates, under the leadership of its indefatigable German-born chairman, almost exclusively for the benefit of Russian and Roumanian co-religionists who were disposed, abroad, constantly to quarrel and dislike each other, has been an important factor in abolishing in the United States the one-time distinction between a "Portuguese Jewish synagogue," an English Bohemian, German, Polish, Russian and Roumanian congregation, and our unifying and democratic melting-pot welds them all into patriotic American citizens of the Jewish persuasion.

What a contrast to the tale unfolded by a British Home-Office Paper of 1771, recording that in that year the officers of the Great Synagogue of London thanked the British Government for attempting to ex-

clude Polish Jews from the English shore, merely because they could not pay the usual packet-boat passenger charges!

But under Mr. Wolf's chairmanship, both the Board and he personally, could, when necessary, become vehement and fearless in championing important principles, even against public officers whom he relied upon, to exercise discretionary powers in favor of his proteges. Wisely, however, placed as he was, his role was generally that of a mild Aaron, rather than a fiery Moses, but he delighted in associating such other workers with him on the Board, even if they did not first invoke his aid, and he did not conceal his adherence to their views.

Thus, in days of an earlier Know-Nothing crusade, he publicly bearded a narrow, incompetent bigot, Senator Chandler, when the latter tried, as the head of the Senate Committee on Immigration, to close the door to Russian Jewish refugees by invoking slander and erroneous principles of law and policy. He secured an invaluable public statement from Secretary Charles Foster, often employed since then, on August 1, 1891, which emphasized the principle that destitute fugitives from Russian persecution were not illegally "assisted," over here, under the immigration laws, because they were assured that sympathetic friends in the United States were ready and willing to help them get along in new and untried surroundings, and, in fact, desired to assume such obligations for them to the Government ("Presidents," pp. 158-162).

He stood alongside of and encouraged Jacob H. Schiff, when the latter, like a fearless prophet of old, in the same year, in co-operation with our Board,

successfully insisted on the removal of an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury who had insidiously encouraged his subordinates to promulgate false principles of law, in order to deny to his co-religionists the due process of law on applications for entry which was their due, as also, ten years later, when, in my presence, Mr. Schiff fearlessly arraigned a Cabinet member for ruining his splendid "Galveston Bureau" experiment.

On behalf of our Board, Mr. Wolf ably championed the cause of the Jewish immigrant in argument before the Industrial Commission, and it is interesting to know that, on behalf of our Board, he was one of the first to recommend the enactment of a preventative law, immediately adopted in 1901, penalizing the steamship companies for bringing over persons obviously suffering from contagious disease or other debarring disability, for filthy lucre, in reckless disregard of the irreparable injury done to the unfortunate aliens. He secured an important opinion from Solicitor Earl, of the Labor Department, in 1910, which determined the theretofore doubtful question in favor of the alien, whether immigrant beneficiaries of purely private charities were deportable, as having become public charges.

Under his chairmanship, the practice was developed in pathetic, worthy, cases of bailing immigrants, suffering from curable ailments for limited periods, until a cure might be effected, often at the expense of culpable companies, instead of deporting them, and also, during the war, when deportation so often meant death, of bailing illiterate immigrants until they had learned to read.

When Commissioner Williams attempted to assume harsh legislative authority, and intimidated his subordinates into enforcing his erroneous principles of construction of the immigration law, he used his pacifying influence to try to induce the superior Government officers to accept the principles—since sustained by our highest courts—underlying the habeas corpus proceedings entitled "Matter of Skuratowski," instituted by Judge Elkus and myself in 1909. Many of the questions involved the Board had previously urged in arguments before the immigration officials.

In the midst of Commissioner Williams' insidious effort to make harshness and injustice to the immigrant on the part of his inspectors in applying the immigration laws, synonymous with competency, the Chairman of the Board induced Secretary Nagel to attend our 1911 Council in New York and reply to my strictures in an address (both soon after printed in Proceedings, pp. 6589-6634 and in pamphlet form), which conceded so many rights to the immigrants assumedly already accorded them, that the percentage of illegal deportations at once fell enormously.

Time after time our Board has been represented at public hearings before Congressional Committees on Immigration, the Immigration Commission and the President, and argued in favor of laws, just to the immigrant and the right of asylum and no less so to our country. Time after time it has opposed literacy tests and 3 per cent quota laws—originally successfully—and urged adequate religious fugitive exemptions, and otherwise reasonable immigration and naturalization laws.

It was chiefly through the efforts of members of

our Board that the United States Supreme Court, in the case of Gegiow vs. Uhl, 239 U. S. 3, decided that immigration authorities cannot escape judicial review, even in cases of alleged "likelihood to become public charges," when they proceed on erroneous principles of law and without any sustaining evidence, despite a legislative fiat in favor of non-reviewability.

The purposes of the Board of Delegates may, in short, well be summed up in a beautiful passage inscribed by Woodrow Wilson in the yearbook presented to Simon Wolf on his seventieth birthday, reading:

"Prejudice is provincial; truth and justice go hand in hand in this blessed country."

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LET THERE BE LIGHT

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GIFT

by

Irving H. Robitshek